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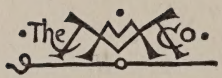

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CHRISTIANITY GOES TO PRESS

By

Edgar J. Goodspeed

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PREFACE

This book is based upon the James W. Richard Lectures which I had the honor to deliver at The University of Virginia in October, 1939. To the high priests of culture who preside over the public lectures in that historic university, the most ancient I have ever addressed, and especially to those who administer the Richard lectureship in religion, I offer my thanks for that opportunity to shoot a slender arrow from under its shining shield, which has already sheltered such a series of accomplished scholars. I count it a great honor to have had a place in that succession, and to have spoken in the field of The New Testament, in which their illustrious founder took so definite an interest.

To my brother, Charles T. B. Goodspeed, I am again indebted for his help in reading the proofs.

E. J. G.

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CHRISTIANITY GOES TO PRESS

CHAPTER I

PAUL'S PERSONAL LETTERS

The New Testament has long been such a battleground of creedal, dogmatic, theological and ecclesiastical views that people sometimes despair of it altogether and get the impression that there is really nothing objective to be found out about it. In fact, it has become a pose with many intelligent people, writers, journalists, scientists, to know nothing about the New Testament, and they will give utterance with complacency to the grossest blunders about it, such as they would never dream of making about any other subject in the world.[1]

This is partly because they have come to the conclusion that there is really nothing sound to be found out about it; and partly because they have reacted sharply against the great claims that have so long been made for it. Yet the New Testament remains the world's supreme book of religion; and quite apart from that, its influence upon human thought and behavior has been so great that whatever one's views of religion, the study and appreciation of the New Testament must have a place among humanistic disciplines. For it preserves the great humanizing documents of literature. It undertakes the prodigious task of softening the world's hard heart, and no one can pretend that that work is done. On

[1] One well known literary man recently assigned all the gospels to the latter half of the second century, though Justin Martyr plainly shows they were being read in public worship by A. D. 150, and had already had a long history.

the contrary, we wonder if it ever needed doing so much before.

If we look abroad, in Europe the gospel's ideal of meekness, gentleness, patience, self-control, is bitterly repudiated and ridiculed; while in India its simple doctrine of non-resistance has proved a powerful instrument of political pressure. So conspicuously are the teachings of the New Testament upon the modern stage.

While to many it seems impossible that anything can really be known about the New Testament, many others actually feel that at least nothing new can be found out about it.

Over against these negative attitudes it is the purpose of these chapters to undertake a literary approach to the New Testament; to follow the path by which Christianity, from being a purely spiritual movement, of inner attitudes of faith, hope and love, presently began almost unconsciously to express itself in letter writing, then in twenty years groped its way to its first book, and twenty-five years later was embarked upon a writing and publishing movement of extraordinary variety and vigor. The story of the development of this literary movement in Christianity is one of great dramatic interest, and may be said to put the first century of the church's history in a new perspective. What has hitherto been forgotten is, that within twenty years of the death of Jesus, Christianity entered the Greek world, and found itself in an atmosphere of books, of writing and publishing, of authors and readers; of all of which it soon learned to take amazing advantage. The speed and vigor with which the early church adopted the Greek techniques of writing and publication and made the fullest use of them in its effort to spread the gospel over the ancient world,

form a significant chapter in Christian history, but a chapter that has yet to be written. Permit me in this book to present an essay in that direction. Let us reëxamine the beginnings of New Testament literature in relation to Greek practices of composition and publication, and to habitual Greek book-forms, scroll and codex. Let me speak first then of the Personal Stage of Christian Literature—the letters of Paul. Next let us consider the Dawn of Christian Publication, in the work of Mark, Matthew and Luke; Christians Learning to Publish. The third part of the book will discuss the full tide of Christian publication that ensued and completed the writing of the New Testament.

The Jewish soil out of which Christianity sprang was not a literary soil. The Jewish mind was busy enough, but not with the writing of books. It was in the midst of the canonization of its own older literature, its scripture, and was absorbed in the task. It was producing a Hebrew commentary on its Law, but it did not write it down; it memorized it. It was producing a translation of the Hebrew Law and prophets into the Aramaic vernacular, but it did not write that down either. It, too, must be memorized. A long time was to elapse before Jewish piety would permit either Talmud or Targum to be written down. Clearly Judaism in Palestine was in no mood in the first century for original written composition; how much further it was from the Greek world of authors, publishers, book sellers, and public libraries, can be imagined. Long before, a sage of Jerusalem, disdainful of the literary habits of the Greeks and their vast libraries, had dismissed them with the despairing comment: "Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." [2]

[2] Eccles. 12:12.

For a full century centering about the birth of Christ (50 B. C. to 66 A. D.), from the opening chapters of Enoch to the Eagle Vision of II Esdras, no new book in Hebrew seems to have been written, though out in the Greek world Jews like Philo were writing voluminously—in Greek! Palestinian Hebrew literature was at a standstill. Why write mere human works when the divine oracles, dictated by God himself, were available for study?

But the primitive Christians were even less inclined to write than their Palestinian Jewish contemporaries. They were for the most part plain people of the middle class, quite unacquainted with the art of writing books. And in addition to all this, they were dominated by the idea that the Messianic end of the age might at any moment break over them like a huge wave of fate, and engulf and reform the world they lived in. All in all, it would be difficult to imagine a combination of conditions more unfavorable to literary composition. Their faith was in the inner life of God in their hearts, and as all Christians possessed this spirit, why should one of them write about it? You either had it or you did not; books did not matter. As one of them said, "What is written kills; but the spirit gives life." [3]

No wonder then that in such a soil and in such a spirit, primitive Christianity wrote no books.

But the tremendous dynamic of its inner life sent its missionaries far beyond the narrow borders of Palestine and of Judaism into the great stirring Greek world of the West. And in the course of this Greek mission the church began to grope toward literary expression. It was not the last time the church was to learn from its missions.

The Greeks of the first century were great letter writers.

[3] II Cor. 3:6.

The papyri have preserved hundreds of their personal letters, written on all sorts of occasions—love, business, society, crime, farming, religion, sickness, death, debt, taxes, homesickness, money, reconciliation, disappointment—every kind of matter one can think of. The Jews wrote letters, too, no doubt, but to no such extent as the Greeks did.

The variety of letter writers revealed by the Greek papyri should establish this. There is Theon, the bad little boy whose father has angered him by not taking him to Alexandria.[4] There is the maidservant, writing very ungrammatically to her absent mistress.[5] There is the calculating scoundrel, proposing to clip some coins. There is the pompous husband, reporting from Alexandria that he has said his prayers in the Serapeum.[6] One is about giving the mouse-catcher (the "exterminator" of our day) his pay in advance.[7] Another conveys instructions for the tin-man's wife.[8] There is the repentant prodigal anxious to be bailed out of jail. A neglected father complains that his son does not answer home letters. In the mail-order line is a first century letter ordering some drugs from an Alexandrian dealer, and insisting that they be pure and fresh, not stale stuff they cannot sell in Alexandria. All sorts of homely commissions appear. One writer warns his correspondent against the money lenders. Another, a woman, sends instructions to get her wardrobe out of pawn.[9] One writer asks them to send him the old cushion that is up in the dining room,[10] and in A. D. 100 a farmer in the Fayum writes his cousin,

[4] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 1), 119.
[5] *Tebtunis Papyri* (vol. 2), 413.
[6] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 7), 1070.
[7] *Ibid.*, (vol. 2), 299.
[8] *Tebtunis Papyri* (vol. 2), 414.
[9] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 1), 114.
[10] *Ibid.*, (vol. 8), 1159.

"Ask the hunchbacked tanner for the hide of the calf we sacrificed." [11] The papyrus letters are indeed a "comédie humaine." Their grimmest touch is in the letter of a husband to his wife, written in 1 B. C., instructing her if her child is a girl, to expose it.[12] We knew such things were done in the Graeco-Roman world, but to see such instructions in a father's own handwriting brings the practice home to us with fearful force.

The letter sent by the Emperor Claudius in answer to one written to him by the Alexandrians on his accession in A. D. 41, is about a thousand words in length, a little longer than II Thessalonians, which was written about ten years later.[13] But Claudius's letter was hardly a personal one, being more like an imperial proclamation to Alexandria.

In such a world of letters and letter writing as the Greek papyri have revealed, Christianity first began to express itself in writing, of course in Greek. For however Jewish the color of its early message, when Christianity came to write it, it cast it in Greek language, and as time went on, more and more in Greek forms of thought. Throughout the writing of the New Testament, Christianity may be seen growing more and more Greek in content. And though the New Testament originated in Palestine not one book of it was written there.

The first great success of the new religion was the Greek mission—the work inaugurated by Paul among people of Greek speech and culture, who had been prepared by Greek philosophy, ethics, literature and religion for the higher values Christianity had to offer. That is why the New Testament was written in Greek.

[11] *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, 121.
[12] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 4), 744.
[13] H. Idris Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (1924), pp. 1–37.

We may wish the gospels had been written first; we shall have to face the problem why they were not. But letters, ancient or modern, present two aspects of peculiar interest. First, they are the most difficult documents to understand, for they imply situations in the nature of the case known only to the writer and the person or persons to whom each particular letter is written. The situation in which the letter is written, with all that has gone before to produce that situation, is taken for granted by the writer, but will usually be quite unknown to a third party. No wonder Paul's letters are difficult and after centuries of the most patient study still contain references (like being baptized for the dead [14]) which are utterly obscure.

But, second, personal letters rank very high as historical documents, especially for the times from which they come; indeed, there are no better sources known to the historian.

It is a curious fact that Christian writing began in the Greek city of Corinth, where in the middle of the first century, the spring of the year 50, Paul wrote a friendly letter to his Christian friends at Thessalonica, from whom he had just had some very good news. He had been very anxious about what had become of the little Christian group he had recently formed there, and the news that they were still loyal to their new faith had given him such relief that he wrote them a letter, or more probably dictated it, in his rapid, informal Greek, his sentences tumbling over one another in his usual tumultuous, torrential fashion.

It was not an open letter, not an epistle or literary letter, not a message private in form but public in intention. It was a genuine personal letter, for the Thessalonian Christians and nobody else. And this genuinely private character

[14] I Cor. 15:29.

marks all Paul's letters. The first steps toward Christian literature were private, personal and non-literary.

A comparison of Paul's Greek style with that of the Greek papyrus letters shows indeed that in some passages where he has been thought most formal he was really most colloquial. What is soundingly translated, "Are they Hebrews? So am I! Are they Israelites? So am I!," the papyrus letters show is just the most vernacular way in the world of saying: If they are Hebrews, so am I. If they are Israelites, so am I.[15] This most primitive of all conditional mechanisms occurs nine times in the Corinthian letters.[16]

Is it possible that we possess a hundred pages of personal letters from the leading Christian missionary of the first century, all written within thirty years of the death of Jesus? What a boon to the historian and to every earnest student of early Christianity. Criticism has very naturally and properly been at work upon this list, not to undermine or reduce it, nor to prop it up, but to test and verify it.

The oldest list we possess of Paul's letters is that made by Marcion, an energetic Christian of Sinope in Pontus, who about A. D. 140 published a collection of ten letters, arranged as my friend, Dr. John Knox, has shown, in the order of their size, beginning with the longest, except that Marcion put Galatians first, doubtless because he found it most congenial to his own strongly anti-Jewish views. The letters to Timothy and Titus were not in Marcion's list, and a close examination of them shows that they were probably not written before his time.

The remaining ten letters are generally held to be from Paul's hand; but one of them, Ephesians, shows so much de-

[15] See *Tebtunis Papyri* (vol. 2), 421, ll. 8–10.
[16] I Cor. 7:18, 21, 27; II Cor. 11:22, 23.

pendence on the other nine, being in fact composed of materials drawn from them and of little else, that it can hardly have come from the hand of Paul. The establishment of its real origin as the introduction to the collected Pauline letters will find a place in the third chapter of this book. This leaves nine letters which have stood the most rigorous tests of criticism and which may with confidence be accepted as the work of Paul. They were written or dictated by him, between 50 and 62 A. D., at intervals in his missionary activity and at various points about the Eastern Mediterranean.

Paul has been very widely misunderstood for two reasons: first, his letters have been so mechanically translated, mostly word for word, instead of phrase by phrase—an immense difference—that he is made to seem incoherent and unintelligible; and second, his letters, instead of being read in the light of the situations that called them forth, have been dogmatically treated, as though he were a systematic theologian, instead of a busy missionary, eagerly concerning himself with the practical problems of the new faith as they appeared in the little groups he was forming in the Greek world, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, Galatia, as well as those in Laodicea, Colossae and Rome. For a clear picture of Paul, one must read each of these private, personal letters (they are not epistles) in a coherent intelligible *translation*, and in the light of the particular historical local *situation* that called it forth.

For Paul's letters are definitely *occasional* in character; and each one reveals with surprising clearness what its occasion was. Yet many intelligent people despair of understanding Paul, and frankly confess that they give him up as a bad job. Other leaders of opinion quietly ignore him and

announce with pontifical gravity their discovery of things Paul found out long ago.

Paul's letters certainly reveal early Christian life and thought with the utmost frankness and candor. We cannot be too glad that these first Christian documents are simply informal personal letters written with no thought of being literary, sacred, canonical, inspired, or even preserved at all. Perhaps the truest inspiration usually is unconscious. One is struck by the naturalness of them. Sometimes Paul writes to express his gratification and relief, as to the Thessalonians; sometimes to thank his friends for money, and concern about him, as to the Philippians who had raised a fund for him and sent him a man to look after him when he was in prison and could not help himself. Sometimes Paul wrote in heat and indignation, to correct what he regarded as wrong ideas, as to the Galatians, or to defend himself against personal charges, as to the Corinthians. Sometimes he wrote to answer various practical questions which had arisen; as once to the Corinthians, who had sent him a veritable question box, in a letter carried to Ephesus by three of their number. Sometimes he wrote to safeguard a church from wrong views of religion, as to the Romans.

Nothing could show the new wine of Christian insight and experience in its new bottles better than I Corinthians. The Corinthians' question box shows Paul at his best as a teacher. The questions were some of them crude and trivial; whether ecstatic speaking should be tolerated in Christian meetings, and where the Corinthians should buy their meat. The ecstatic speakers Paul reminds that love is the supreme guide of Christian action, and, in his incomparable thirteenth chapter, he becomes the discoverer of the finest thing in the world, Christian courtesy.

The best meat in Corinth was to be had at the markets attached to the great idol temples, where well-to-do Corinthian Christians had always bought it before they were converted and where they maintained they still had a perfect right to buy it. Surely an idol was nothing! Paul agrees that they have such a right, but points out how many of his own undoubted rights he had voluntarily relinquished in order to render a greater Christian service. In this discussion of his in Chapter 9, he works out what is nothing less than the program of civilization, for it is by this course only—the voluntary relinquishment of acknowledged rights for a higher social end—that mankind has advanced and will advance. What tremendous answers to such trivial questions! It was a deep ploughshare that these new Christian thinkers were guiding through the problems of thought and action in that ancient world. No one has ploughed deeper. And the fact that the vehicle for these observations was the personal private letter must not blind us to their depth and penetration. If they could write such letters as these, what kind of sermons do you suppose they preached? No wonder the gospel so quickly permeated the Greek world!

The tiny personal letter to Philemon is really also a church letter, and was probably preserved and at length included in the collected letters of Paul as such, for it is addressed not only to Philemon and Apphia and Archippus, but "to the church in your house." Since Archippus is spoken of in the closing lines of Colossians as though he lived in Laodicea, the whole group must have done so, and the church in Philemon's house must have been the church of Laodicea.

The runaway slave, Onesimus, whom Paul intercedes for in that letter may have become, as Paul hoped, his as-

sistant and pupil and have lived to be the bishop of Ephesus of that name, of whom Ignatius long after says so much in his letter to the Ephesians, Chs. 1–6. Dr. John Knox has observed (and been the first to observe) that these chapters deal constantly with the letter to Philemon, of which Ignatius would hardly have made so much if the bishop were not the subject of it; and there are things that point to Onesimus as perhaps the eventual collector of the Pauline letters.[17]

Nothing could surpass the frank convincing intimacy with which these letters reflect Greek life and church life about the Aegean, where most of Paul's letters, as we know them, were written. He wrote from Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi and Rome; and to Thessalonica, Galatia, Corinth, Ephesus, Colossae, Philippi, and Rome. What we have is probably not a tithe of what he wrote, yet it may well be that we have his most extended letters, for they would be the ones likeliest to survive the period of natural neglect into which Paul's letters, like all old letters, fell in the quarter century after his death. They were addressed to people then dead and gone, and dealt with temporary local situations that no longer interested the churches. It is surprising how much the Pauline letters need one another, to make their general religious usefulness evident.

The most clearly and generally useful of them is Romans. Paul had never been in Rome when he wrote it, but he hoped to go and wanted to forewarn them against false views of religion that he had seen elsewhere and feared might appear there. Paul wrote it at Corinth when he wanted to sail on to the west, to Italy, Rome and Spain, but felt that he must first carry to the Christian leaders in Jeru-

[17] John Knox, *Philemon among the Letters of Paul* (1935), pp. 53–56.

salem the collection he had been taking for the Christian poor there.

So instead of carrying his message to Rome in person as he wanted to do, he casts it into a letter and sends it to Rome. Canon Sanday called Romans testamentary: Paul knows he may not leave Jerusalem alive, and in Romans, as it were, bequeaths his gospel in this, his last will and testament to the Roman church.

Matthew Arnold has summarized its argument in unforgettable terms.[18] "The first chapter is to the Gentiles—its purport is: You have not righteousness. The second is to the Jews—its purport is: No more have you, though you think you have." In the third chapter a new way of becoming upright and so acceptable with God has been revealed, through Christ; it is the way of faith. Chapters 4 and 5 illustrate this way of faith from the story of Adam and the experience of Abraham. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 develop the consequences of this, showing the changed relation of the believer to sin, Law, and the new life to which he is introduced. Chapters 9, 10 and 11 turn to another theme, the failure of the Jews to accept Christ. And Chapters 12 to 14 tell what kind of life the believer should live—an account of that matter second only to the presentation of it in the Sermon on the Mount!

So we see Paul; to the outward eye, just a Jewish artisan moving restlessly about the Mediterranean shores, but really one of the great men of his day, of titanic interests and undertakings that embraced Rome and Jerusalem and sought to unite Greek and Jew in the service of the kingdom of God.

As Dr. Stalker said long ago, Paul's letters take the roofs

[18] Matthew Arnold, *St. Paul and Protestantism,* pp. 78, 79.

off the early Christian meeting places and let us look inside.[19] They show us not what some ancient wanted early Christianity to appear to be, but what it actually was—its difficulties and differences, sharp and bitter sometimes. Here is Christianity in actual operation. Here is Paul in collision with the leaders at Jerusalem, Paul at Antioch condemning Peter to his face right before them all, Paul under attack from the Corinthians, Paul repelling slanders that assailed him at Thessalonica. I do not know where we can find such candid and revealing documents bearing on the origin of any other ancient faith.

And why have we such priceless materials for the beginnings of the Christian faith? First, because Christianity laid hold of such powerful personalities as Paul, and second, because these primitive Christian letters were so good that the local churches did not throw them all away, but kept some of them, stored away in their church chests, precious relics of one who had shed his blood in martyrdom.

For almost three centuries, we must remember, Christians had no church buildings. They met in such private houses as had rooms large enough to accommodate their meetings. These rooms would be used for other purposes the rest of the week, but on the Lord's day, the day of the sun—Sunday—as Justin says, they would be rearranged for Christian worship. The appurtenances of that worship would be simple and would include some rolls of the Greek Bible—the Old Testament, and the Apocrypha, as we know them—from which the leader of the meeting would read. There might also be a plate and goblet for the celebration of the communion, and possibly such simple vestments as might

[19] James Stalker, *The Life of St. Paul*, § 129.

seem appropriate, though we hear nothing about that for a long time. When the service was over these things would naturally be put back into the chest for safekeeping until the church met again. We hear of these chests when, about 180, the Roman governor asks the Scillitan Christians in their trial what books they have in their chest.

In these church chests here and there among the Pauline churches we must suppose Paul's last letter or two, perhaps all his letters to that church, were kept, probably being read in that particular church on the anniversary of his martyrdom. The widespread idea that his letters or the best of them sprang immediately into general influence and circulation, is at variance, not only with the probabilities, but with the facts.

That Paul's letters were personal and not written for publication is made abundantly clear by many things that they contain. That Paul would send personal greetings to twenty-four people in the Ephesian church, besides the mother of one of them and the sister of another,[20] is natural enough, in a letter of introduction written soon after he has left Ephesus after a stay of between two and three years. But that he would do this in a work intended for publication is out of the question. In that case he would have said either less or more, for while he includes a courteous complimentary word about most of them—"that veteran Christian Apelles; Tryphaena and Tryphosa, those hard workers in the Lord's cause"—he presently gives up even this, and writes: "Remember me to Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas, and the brothers who meet with them. Remember me to Philologus and Julia, to Nereus and

[20] Romans, 16.

his sister, and to Olympas, and to all God's people who meet with them." These are genuine greetings, written to a long series of old friends, with no idea of publication.

Again, we can hardly suppose that Paul would have invoked such bitter curses upon rival teachers as we read in Galatians,[21] or have defended himself with such vehemence against the petty faultfinding of the Corinthians,[22] had he been writing for publication. But all the truer the picture we get of those controversies and of the depth of feeling they aroused. Nor would he have referred so obscurely to the agents he sent to the Corinthians, a remark which has so mystified all his readers ever since.[23] The first one may have been Titus's brother (possibly Luke?), "who is famous in all the churches for his work in spreading the good news." But who is the other? "I send with them another brother of ours whose devotion we have often tested in many ways." Who were these men? Why be so vague about them? Of course because the Corinthians knew perfectly well who they were, and that was all that was necessary, in personal letters such as these.

Indeed, the extremely local and personal character of Paul's letters is perfectly illustrated and established by I Corinthians, which is one of the very greatest of them. It begins with a sharp rebuke of the conditions that prevail in the Corinthian church, as disclosed to Paul by some recent visitors from Corinth. Paul has accepted their statements as true, and proceeds to take the Corinthians severely to task for their conduct. He is really answering a letter from the Corinthians just brought him by those of their number, but

[21] Gal. 1:8, 9.
[22] II Cor. 10:1, 10.
[23] II Cor. 8:16–24.

he does not allude to their letter until Chapter 7, almost a third of the way through his letter. No other church could possibly have any interest in all this hearsay about the abuses at Corinth and Paul's rebuke of them.

And yet such was the overflowing strength of Paul's Christianity that in the same letter he goes on to his splendid picture of love, in Chapter 13, which has never been surpassed, and his pæan over the resurrection, in Chapter 15. Early Christianity first expressed itself informally in personal letters, it is true, but what letters they were! Were there ever such personal letters, before or since? And yet they sprang simply out of the everyday life of the early churches. Such was Paul's preaching, no doubt. The greatness of the letters is a hint of the greatness of the spiritual life of that first period.

And these letters, remarkable as they seem to us, were only incidents of that life. They were its by-products. To us Paul's writing of these letters seems the most important thing he ever did. It did not seem so to him. To him, his personal contacts, his preaching, traveling, visiting—his whole missionary activity were the main things. He resorted to letter writing mostly only when he could not go and meet a situation in person. To him and to his colleagues the writing of his letters must have appeared a very minor part of his work.

Nor is there any cross reference in these letters such as we might expect if they were written to accompany one another and form a group. The only items of this kind are the reference in Col. 4:16 to "the letter from Laodicea" and the general endorsement of Paul as a writer in Ephesians 3. Some matters are briefly treated in some letters, and more fully developed in others, but there is nothing to suggest

that Paul expects the fuller treatment to be accessible to the readers to whom he addresses the briefer one.

It is further evident that these letters of Paul have not undergone any thorough editing or revision, at any time, or these intense personal touches would have been toned down or even obliterated.

The younger Pliny, who wrote some of the most remarkable letters in the world—like the ones about the eruption of Vesuvius and the fall of Pompeii—seems to have kept copies of his letters, with a view to some day publishing them. Indeed, he is suspected of having brushed them up a bit here and there before finally putting them out as a book. But Paul had no such designs, and took no such steps. He cast his letters into the soil of the churches' life and passed on about more important business. And what a giant to scatter such writings with a free hand as he went on his way!

If these letters were Paul's sole contribution to Christianity, they would be a great one. But when we perceive that they were just an incidental part of his missionary work, we begin to grasp how great that work in its full scope must have been. If these are the chips from his workshop, what must his masterpieces have been like?

So the recognition that, historically speaking, Paul's letters were in origin only personal, private letters, not reasoned works of literature, sets them in a new perspective, in which their greatness becomes much enhanced. In sheer weight of influence upon the thought and life of mankind, they have far outstripped the more pretentious literary efforts of his contemporaries.

Some years ago, in Chicago, I was walking home from the University one afternoon, with my distinguished col-

league, Professor Paul Shorey, head of the department of Greek. He remarked that he had just been reading Paul's letters through again in Greek, and in front of my door, he stopped and looked at me and said very simply and earnestly, "Paul was a great man."

You will say that you did not need Professor Shorey to tell you that, but it meant a great deal nevertheless. For Professor Shorey was not actively concerned with evangelical Christianity, nor definitely identified with religious work. He was a great intellectual. He was a great interpreter of Plato; Plato was his enthusiasm and his theme, and became the subject of his books. But Paul, reread that summer, not in dialogues or philosophies, but simply in the rugged remnants of his few private letters, drew from him this word of frank admiration. How different from those other intellectuals who pride themselves upon knowing nothing about the Bible.

Of course Paul's letters are familiar and conversational in style; if they are genuine they could not be anything else. They are in the informal letter style. Paul's preaching was also in that style. It was one of the things the Corinthians had against him. He discusses it in I Corinthians 1–4, admitting that he is what they called rude, i. e., uncultivated, in speech, and declaring that he will not change and put his mind on his style, as he prefers to put it on his message.

Some of Paul's letters, as we have them, are composite; Philippians evidently contains two short notes to Philippi. II Corinthians undoubtedly consists of two letters to Corinth, written at very different stages of the exciting correspondence. The last chapter of Romans is clearly a letter of introduction for a woman named Phoebe to the church at Ephesus, where Paul had just spent two years and a half

and would naturally be well acquainted with the twenty-four people he mentions by name and wishes to be remembered to (besides Rufus's mother and Nereus's sister). This probability was in 1935 advanced to a certainty, when the oldest manuscript of Romans yet found, a papyrus leaf-book written about A. D. 200, placed the great doxology of Romans at the end of Chapter 15. Most Greek manuscripts have it at the end of Chapter 16 (after Phoebe's letter); some have it after Chapter 14; some have it in both places! But the new manuscript, our oldest, has it at the end of Chapter 15—just where a close study of the letter would lead us to expect to find it.[24] Thus textual study does sometimes come to the support of literary criticism, and when they do concur, their verdict is conclusive. Our nine genuine Pauline letters, critically examined, thus turn out to be really twelve. How they came to be thus combined is a question that belongs to the movement that assembled, edited and published them a generation later.

It was much that there was a man in Christian missionary work in the first century who could write Corinthians and Romans; but it was quite as much that there were Christians in Corinth and Rome who could read, understand and prize them. It is no small commentary on the membership of the early church that they could not only produce but read, understand and preserve such documents as the letters of Paul. That they preserved them by no concerted action, but locally, independently and involuntarily, makes this all the more significant. All the way along, we shall find men springing up out of the rank and file of the church, to write great messages for it; men whose names have been

[24] Henry A. Sanders, *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul,* Ann Arbor, 1935, p. 54.

forgotten but whose work still lives. So the gospel fired the religious thought and aspiration of the Greek world. And so in the early church there were many people of extraordinary mental vigor and religious insight, who not less as readers than as writers, made the New Testament.

Paul's letters, written in the heat and hurry of the Greek mission, to serve immediate practical ends, fell into the soil and disappeared. It was a full generation before it seems to have occurred to anyone to seek them out and collect and publish them. That momentous action was to introduce an important later phase of Christian literary development, but for a generation it was almost as though they had never been written. Mark, Matthew, Luke, the writers of the following generation, show no acquaintance with them. Paul did, indeed, influence these early writers, but it was through his personal work, not through his letters. Of this there can no longer be any doubt.

Paul's letters have so long been used in public worship, and so widely circulated in print that is not easy to realize that they were not so treated or regarded from the first. The proof of this is found, however, in the unmistakable ignorance of them on the part of the earliest Christian writers—the authors of the first gospels. In fact, while Marcion sought to introduce the use of Paul's letters into public worship toward A. D. 140, the earliest adoption of them for such a purpose, among Christians in general, is reflected in the Scillitan Acts of martyrdom from North Africa about A. D. 180. Certainly they were not so used in Rome or Ephesus by 150, or Justin Martyr would have included them in the books he describes as read in church in public worship. But he limits such books to "The Memoirs of the Apostles" (which are called gospels) "or the writings of

the prophets." [25] Not until a hundred years after the death of Paul did his letters begin to be read generally in Christian worship.

The lack of acquaintance of all three of the earliest evangelists with any collection of Paul's letters is all the more striking when it is remembered that the gospels were written in three great Christian centers widely separated from one another—Rome, Antioch, Ephesus. If Paul's letters were known anywhere they must have been known in one of these places. An evangelist writing in some one of them might have been so behind the times as never to have seen them, but hardly the evangelists in all three. And particularly, Luke, whose work was not just a gospel but a sketch in two volumes of the whole Christian movement, including the rise of the Greek mission and the spread of the faith all the way to Rome, in the volume we know as the Acts; Luke, who might almost be called the first biographer of Paul, so inimitably has he told of his heroic efforts for the Greek mission—Luke simply must have known the Pauline letters if anyone did. With his zeal for sources, reflected in his preface, and his claim of having carefully investigated them, he could not have neglected what everybody would agree to be the best source of all for the second half of his second volume. And when he came to write those speeches and sermons of Paul's at Antioch, Athens, Miletus, on the stairs at Jerusalem, before Felix and then before Agrippa, what wonderful material he would have found in Paul's letters, had he possessed them. As it is, the great Pauline ways of putting Christian truth which we have come to consider characteristic are strikingly absent from these discourses. Luke's account of Paul's last journey

[25] Justin, *Apology*, 67:3.

to Jerusalem speaks vaguely of a spiritual compulsion that led Paul to make it, but Romans would have shown Luke the reason: the collection for Jerusalem had been completed and must now be delivered. Luke could hardly have described Paul's relations with the Christian leaders at Jerusalem as he did, if he had had Galatians open before him.

This non-acquaintance of Mark, Matthew and Luke with the substance of Paul's letters (which scholars generally recognize) is all the more striking when compared with the Gospel of John which makes evident use of all ten of the Pauline letters in Marcion's list, sometimes condensing whole paragraphs of Romans, for example, into a single sentence.[26] The literary influence of Paul on John presents the strongest possible contrast to the almost entire absence of it from Mark, Matthew and Luke.

We say *almost*, because Mark does show some traces of acquaintance with Romans, which would of course be preserved among the treasures of the church in Rome where Mark wrote his gospel, and so have been accessible to him. But that only shows that a copy of Romans survived in the church chest at Rome, not that Paul's letters were collected and in circulation there.

And, of course, it goes without saying that the scattered letters were in existence, otherwise they could never have been collected afterward and published. It would be natural for the Romans to keep the letter Paul had written them, perhaps in their church chest, and after his martyrdom to read from it on the anniversary of his martyrdom. I can think of no more natural explanation of the fact that so many of his letters remained scattered among the churches to which they were written and were thus pre-

[26] Compare John 3:16 with Romans 5:1–11.

served in isolation from one another, until, thirty years after the death of Paul, some admirer of his formed the idea of collecting and publishing them.

That the Christians in the second century kept such letters addressed to their particular church and reread them at intervals is shown by the words of Dionysius of Corinth to Soter, bishop of Rome, about A. D. 150:

"Today we have passed the Lord's holy day, on which we have read your epistle. From it whenever we read it we shall always be able to draw advice, as also from the former epistle which was written to us through Clement." [27] It would seem from this that the epistle of the Roman church to the church at Corinth, known to us as First Clement, had been preserved at Corinth for over half a century and been occasionally read in their church meetings. Of course the churches that had letters from Paul, preserved in their church chests, would do at least as much for him.

What particular event or situation could have suggested or precipitated the first collection and publication of Paul's letters we must consider later. It seems to have taken place immediately after the appearance of Luke's two volumes on the history of the Christian movement, about A. D. 90.

It is a curious fact that the major effect of Paul's letters was one he never intended or even contemplated. How true it is that he builded better than he knew. They did what he wrote them to do, and had their immediate local effects in the cities about the eastern Mediterranean. And then, long afterward, many were hunted up, collected, edited and published, and entered upon a literary usefulness and influence which have never ceased. Indeed, this belated and secondary effect of Paul's letters so dominates our minds

[27] Eusebius, *Church History*, 4:23:11.

that we come to regard his own purposes in writing them as somehow incidental and insignificant, and so lose our best aids for the understanding of them.

So it appears that Christian literature began unconsciously, involuntarily, in quite unliterary ways—in private, personal letters. It was a long time before these were even collected, not to say published, and we must remember that there was as much difference between a letter written and a letter published then, as there is now. Christianity had not yet learned to publish, though the Greeks were great book publishers, and the first century world was full of published books. Christianity was finding its way to literary expression almost in spite of itself. But when the last Pauline letter was written Christianity had not yet produced a *book*.

How it came to do so, and with what success, is the question we must next consider.

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIANS LEARN TO PUBLISH

At the *New York Times* Book Fair two years ago, no exhibit attracted more attention than the History of the Recorded Word, organized by Mr. Elmer Adler, the editor of *The Colophon.* It began with the caption "Man Learns to Write," and after an interesting exhibit of hieroglyphic papyri, cuneiform tablets and a series of Greek and Latin manuscript pieces, culminated in another caption "Man Learns to Print," attended with early examples of the printer's art.

But between these two, separated as they were by thousands of years, should have been another, "Man Learns to Publish!" Publication is not identical with printing; still less is it subsequent to it. The Greeks practised publication at least as early as the fifth century before Christ. They seem to have invented it. Printing grew out of publication, not publication out of printing, and publication was practised in Europe two thousand years before printing with movable types.

In the Middle Ages, it is true, such arts declined, but in that Graeco-Roman world which Christianity entered, publishing was at its height. It was a world of writers and of readers, of publishers, bookstores and libraries. Never before or since, until modern times, have there been such libraries, or has the distribution of literary works been so

widespread. In an obscure town of Roman Egypt modern excavation has discovered fragments of the works of more than thirty Greek authors—remains of the books the Greeks of that town owned and read. They had not laboriously copied out these books themselves; they were sale copies, which they had bought in bookstores.

Every large house had its library, and in the great centers were public libraries, that of Alexandria numbering its books—scrolls of course—by hundreds of thousands. Josephus says that Demetrius of Phalerum, the royal librarian, planned to get copies of all the books in the world for the Alexandrian library, just as some modern librarians hope to do for theirs, and when King Ptolemy asked him what progress he was making, he said he already had two hundred thousand rolls, but hoped soon to have five hundred thousand.[1] That was in the middle of the third century before Christ. Seneca says four hundred thousand books were burned in the course of Caesar's operations about Alexandria. Aulus Gellius, writing a hundred years later, said that the Library of Alexandria contained seven hundred thousand books.

The Acts describes the burning at Ephesus of books of magic valued at ten thousand dollars—they had a market price, you observe—and Luke's contemporary, Martial, gives the names and even the addresses of bookstores in Rome where his Epigrams could be bought, "smoothed with pumice and smart with purple, for five denarii." Atticus was Cicero's publisher, and the Sosii brothers published Horace. Rome had copied Greek publishing practices and all over the Graeco-Roman world publishers had scattered books.

[1] *Antiquities,* 12:2:1.

And let no one suppose that these ancient books were crude and clumsy affairs. They were the work of skilled professional writers, like those Ambrose long afterward engaged to take down and copy out the lectures and sermons of Origen. There was as much difference between ordinary Greek writing, and book hands used in publication, as there is between the print in a book and your handwriting or mine, today. Almost anyone could tell that your writing or mine is at least English, but with some Greek private hands of the first and second centuries, it takes a skilled palaeographer to decide that they are Greek at all.

The book writing, on the other hand, is regular, elegant, and clear as print. In fact the early printers took as their patterns the book hands of the classical manuscripts, and early printers' fonts owe most of their acknowledged distinction to that fact.

The modern printer's concern for the proportion of his column, margins, spacing of lines and all the rest is an inheritance from these ancient book designers, who were already practising the art of Bruce Rogers with no little skill. Their script designs were quite as elegant as ours, and they achieved a far greater uniformity of effect by reason of the fact that they used no capitals, or rather used nothing but capitals, used no spaces between words, no paragraphs as we understand the word, and usually no accents or breathings. Aesthetically considered these practices gave their columns a regularity and beauty ours cannot even aspire to.

Professor Hatch has argued, probably rightly, that the Romans, who did nothing by halves but everything by twelfths, dividing feet into twelve inches, and pounds into twelve ounces, also divided the line into twelve letters, and

that is why the ancients called book hands "uncial" that is, with letters a twelfth of a line in width, or twelve letters to a line—which may serve to show how far the ancient publishers and their scribes carried their passion for regularity.

It is necessary to sketch this background of publication, since in relation to the rise of the New Testament it has been neglected and forgotten. This is partly because the Jews of Palestine were at that time not much given to publication, and partly because we do not always distinguish the world of New Testament times from that of the Middle Ages in Europe. Yet publication played a most significant part in the development of a Christian literature, and particularly of the New Testament. Indeed, the progress of that literature cannot be fully understood apart from it.

One looks in vain in Bible dictionaries for any article on publication and, in the encyclopedias, publication is usually confused with printing and next to nothing is said of ancient publication. But classical literature was largely the outgrowth of ancient publication and certainly could not have developed far without it. Where would modern literary effort be without publishers? The introductions and commentaries seem oblivious of ancient publication and what it meant to the New Testament. Yet I think it can be shown that publication played a literally indispensable part in the actual making of the New Testament; a part that can no longer be neglected, if we are to understand the march of early Christianity and the rise of its literature.

We have seen that Christian writing began in the most natural way in the world, as personal letters, from Paul to his churches; that these were written with no thought of

collection or publication, simply to serve immediate, definite purposes, and that for a long time no one seems to have thought even of collecting them. And it is not strange that the first steps toward publication on the part of the early church took place in Rome itself, the capital and metropolis of the Graeco-Roman world. There, if anywhere, Christians of the first century would find themselves in close contact with book writing and book publishing and might be expected to show the influence of it in the measures they were taking to spread their gospel over the world.

Early Christian Rome is a mysterious region for the student, yet some things about it we do know. To the church at Rome Paul had sent his greatest letter, in Greek, and it had been read, treasured and preserved. In Rome Christian religious needs called forth the writing of Mark, preserved it and published it as far as Ephesus and Antioch. To the church at Rome was written what we know as the Letter to the Hebrews, and from the Roman church went forth very soon after a letter to the church in Corinth, I Clement, and one to the Christians of Asia Minor, I Peter. All these writings were in Greek.

What was the state of Greek writing in Rome in the later years of the first century? It is a familiar fact that about the middle of that century, the leadership in Latin writing passed from the hands of Romans into those of provincials, from North Africa and Spain—such men as Seneca, Quintilian and Martial. At the same time Greek writers were welcomed to Rome and wrote in Greek there.

In Vespasian's time, Josephus, a Jew of Palestine, was brought to Rome, given quarters in Vespasian's old house,

granted one of the pensions Vespasian provided for Greek and Latin writers and rhetoricians, and wrote his later works. The Phrygian slave Epictetus was learning philosophy and perhaps beginning to teach it under the Flavian emperors, for he was among those who had to leave Rome when the philosophers were expelled by Domitian in A. D. 90. These names suggest something of the background of Greek Christianity in Rome in the seventies and eighties. And judging by the letters they received, read, and valued (Romans, Hebrews), and those they wrote (I Clement, I Peter), that first Greek Christian circle in Rome was far from ignorant or illiterate. Hebrews and I Peter are generally regarded as the best Greek in the New Testament.

As for publishing interests and facilities in Rome in these days, Martial, in his Epigrams, gives us the fullest information. He came from Spain, but made himself very much of a Roman. He began to publish in A. D. 80, and between 86 and 98 actually got out a volume a year. Martial writes of his friend Lupercus who borrowed his books instead of buying them; Martial dryly gives him the address of a bookstore where his poems are for sale. Another, Laelius, who wrote poetry but would not publish it, made sport of Martial's poetry. Quintus wants Martial to give him his books; Martial refers him to another bookstore. Potitus calls Martial lazy, because he publishes only one book a year! Sosibianus has filled his bookcases, that is, his pigeonholes, with his works, but never publishes anything; he excuses himself to Martial, by saying his heirs will publish them. Martial lived in an atmosphere of composition and publication, publishers, and bookstores. Publication was

the breath of his nostrils. He gives the names of four men in Rome who handled his books, as booksellers and publishers.

It was slave labor that made manuscript book production so cheap and rapid. It has been computed that a complete copy of Martial's Epigrams could have been made in seventeen hours, and if a publisher had fifty copyists at work writing down that book as it was read aloud to them—the ancient method—an edition of a thousand copies could be produced in a month. Martial's books sold for four or five sestertii—twenty to twenty-five cents, perhaps equivalent to two dollars or thereabouts, today.

We must, of course, add that in point of moral level and refinement, there is the widest difference between Martial and the Christian writings mentioned. But he remains our best evidence that the Rome of the Flavian period, A. D. 69–96, was a city of writers, publishers, booksellers and bookstores, and these techniques were lying at hand ready for Christian adoption when the moment came. Josephus shows us how active Greek writing was in Rome itself in those very days, for it was the Flavian emperors who were his friends and patrons, and it was there that he produced his voluminous Greek works.

Augustus and Tiberius had maintained the old Roman pose of superiority to things Greek, but with Claudius a new day dawned. His private life, Mahaffy says, like that of every educated Roman, had been largely absorbed in Greek studies, and he began that cultivation of Greeks and Greek ways that prevailed in Rome for a century. Even Nero exhibits it, and Domitian was careful to replace Roman library books lost by fire, sometimes sending to Alexandria to have copies made. This Greek movement in Rome was

more creative than Mahaffy, for example, would allow, for certainly Josephus produced some very considerable works in Greek at Rome in this period, which lasted through the reign of Hadrian and then bloomed again in Marcus Aurelius' daily Greek jottings "To Himself"—those Meditations, which have been called the Greek counterpart of the *Imitation of Christ.*

Paul's letter to the Romans was a good deal easier to understand in Greek than it is in our standard English versions of it, and yet it speaks well for the Roman church that it could to some extent at least appreciate it, in its original Greek form. Paul's letters nowadays are no such easy reading as the gospels, and that he should write such a letter to the Greek Christians at Rome and they should value it, are facts that throw not a little light upon the general standard of literacy and intelligence in the early church, particularly the church at Rome. Whether Christianity reached up into the imperial circle, and reached Domitian's niece, Domitilla, and her husband, Titus Flavius Clemens, will perhaps never be known, but in any case that would have been a social rather than an intellectual triumph.

Certainly the four booksellers Martial mentions were not the only ones in Rome, where the Argiletum is said to have been the favorite quarter for the book trade. In Rome, indeed, literary interest reached the proportions of a craze. Poets gave readings from their works, and Horace, Seneca, Martial and Juvenal describe the nuisance this practice came to be. These men naturally threw not a little expression into their interpretations. "Horace's greatest terror," says Friedländer, "was the poet in his frenzy; 'he rages like the bear, who has managed to break the bars of his cage.' " [2]

[2] *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire,* 3:39, 40.

"The poet with his manuscript," says Martial, "is more fearful and more feared than the tigress robbed of her young." Martial declared the chief attraction about the spectacles in the amphitheater was that while they lasted "the poets among the spectators could not recite." And Juvenal says that one of the things that drove his friend Umbricius to leave Rome in August was the recitations of the poets that seemed to be then at their height. The number and activity of these Roman poets remind us of the state of things in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when a man could hardly expect to captain an exploring expedition if he could not turn out a fairly good poem.

The establishment of public libraries in Rome—of course they had long existed in the Greek world—was projected by Julius Caesar and carried out after his death through the activities of Varro. Asinius Pollio provided the first one, which was both Greek and Latin. "Augustus added two more," says Friedländer, "and later emperors (especially Vespasian and Trajan) continually increased the number so that in the fourth century no fewer than twenty-eight were in existence." [3] In the papyrus of Origen's friend, Julius Africanus, found at Oxyrhynchus, that Christian writer says that he had arranged a library in the Pantheon for the Emperor, probably meaning his patron Severus Alexander.[4] This was about the middle of the third century, but it is a well known fact that every large Roman house had its library. Cicero is said to have had a library in each of his eighteen villas.

Putting all this together—the Roman bookstores, publishers, libraries, writers, Greek and Latin, drawn from as

[3] *Ibid.*, 3:38.
[4] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 3), 412.

far west as Spain and as far east as Palestine, and encouraged by pensions—it is plain that Rome under the Flavians was by no means a Philistine city, at least until Domitian forced the philosophers to leave it in A. D. 90.

The Roman Christians may well have had some contact with such literary circles as these. They had not always been Christians, and of the book trade, libraries and bookstores of Rome they could not have been ignorant. Moreover there was one feature of their faith that opened their minds significantly to the world of books, and that was their use of the Bible. Not our Bible, of course, but the Jewish Bible, in its Greek translation, which included all that we have in our Old Testament and the Apocrypha besides. To this scripture Christians were already greatly attached. Matthew is glad to appeal now and then to something that is written in the prophets, and Luke praises the high-mindedness of the Jews of Berea, who searched the scriptures every day, to find out whether the gospel message was true. Few Christians could have owned all the forty odd rolls it would require to accommodate that literature; probably few churches had it all. But most Christians would aspire to familiarity with it, and to the possession of it, if possible. Every Christian would thus, in the nature of the case, desire to form a library of his own, of properly copied bookstore editions, like the Rylands roll of Deuteronomy of the second century before Christ, that was reported in 1936.[5] The Christians would be familiar with religious books, and while Christianity did not begin as a literary religion, the great library it immediately inherited from Judaism tended to make it become so. It contributed greatly to make Christians readers of Greek, and accustomed to

[5] C. H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri,* Manchester, 1936.

seek religious instruction and help from books. All this helped to prepare a Greek public in Rome for Christian books in Greek.

But even before Christians wrote letters, they preached, and the subject of their preaching was Jesus. Everything about him—birth, life, teaching, wonders, even his death, as they interpreted it—was "good news." Much of it was told personally as one met another, and some of it in time developed into set forms of narration. Certain stories were told in certain ways. Out of this preaching, tradition and criticism agree, sprang the first gospels. The gospel is early Christianity's contribution to literary forms, and no type of religious literature has equalled it in attractiveness and power.

The circumstances in the Roman church that called forth this first gospel have been fully set forth elsewhere and need not be recited here.[6] Certainly about A. D. 70 and within the circle of the church at Rome, our Gospel of Mark was written, and not only written, but published—put in circulation, so that Christians of distant churches like Ephesus and even far-off Antioch, thirteen hundred miles away, became possessed of it, and familiar with it.

Mark was written, not in the literary style of its day, but in the unassuming popular Greek of everyday life, and marks the beginning of such literature. The gospels were the first books written in popular Greek, the familiar spoken language of the people. They were not addressed to a privileged intellectual upper class but to the common people, whose language they naturally spoke. So the gospel is the bridge on which Christian composition, without losing the vernacular letter-style, passed over into the field of pub-

[6] For example, in my *Introduction to the New Testament,* pp. 125–157.

lication. They were the first "popular" books published.

For that Mark was published we cannot doubt. Ten years later it is known in Antioch and forms the basis of Matthew, and ten years later still, it is basic to the Gospel of Luke. This means that in a few years it had covered the Christian world. How eagerly Christian believers, with no Christian books at all, but with a religious library exclusively Jewish, must have welcomed such a work, the first approach to a book that they produced, can be imagined. It is reasonable to think the Gospel of Mark was written not simply to satisfy the impulse of its author, but even more in response to a popular demand on the part of the Roman congregation.

The way in which it came to be written, as the stories about Jesus and his teaching, told by Peter in his preaching in Rome, and after his martyrdom written down by one of his Greek interpreters there, as he remembered them, also illustrates the almost involuntary fashion in which Christianity first groped its way toward the writing of books. The reasons for this indisposition to write books are obvious enough: the Palestinian Jewish soil out of which Christianity sprang was at that time definitely unliterary; the first Christians did not spring from the literary class; they looked within, not without, for spiritual guidance; and they momentarily expected the Messianic end of the age. The wonder is that they ever took to writing books at all. They did not, until they were intrenched in the Greek world.

With the writing and publishing business what we have seen it was in Rome in the second half of the first century, it would be very easy and natural, indeed it would be inevitable, for such a writing as the Gospel of Mark to find

its way presently into the channels of publication. Even if it was not so intended, as I think it was, and was copied off for private use by first one and then another, it would soon come under the eye of some Christian familiar with current methods of publication and be more systematically and accurately reproduced. But it is more likely that it was intended for publication from the first. Not only its opening lines but its general tenor throughout are unfavorable to the idea that it was meant for a limited local circle. There are few if any touches in the story that we may suppose were clear only to the circle of the Roman church.[7] In this respect it stands in marked contrast to the letters of Paul, of course. They were not meant for publication and naturally are full of such local touches.

This first groping, faltering Christian movement in the field of publication had two important sequels. One appeared, some ten years later, in the city of Antioch, after the destruction of Jerusalem the most important Christian center in the east.

Josephus declared Antioch to be the third city in the Roman empire, in size and importance; only Rome and Alexandria surpassed it. Mahaffy called it the most brilliant seat of Hellenism, and described the neighboring valley of the Orontes as the most delightful place of residence in the known world. In the suburbs of "golden Antioch," as it was called, was the famous park of Daphne, with the great temple of Apollo.

While Cicero in one of his orations [8] speaks of Antioch as rich in learned men and cultural pursuits, as a matter of

[7] Such as possibly the allusion to Alexander and Rufus as though well known to the readers, in 15:21.

[8] *For Archias*, 3:4.

fact it was far behind Rome and Alexandria in literary and educational interests. No such picture of writing and publishing activity there can be conjured up as for Rome or Alexandria. It is true there was a library in Antioch by the end of the third century B. C., with Euphorion of Chalcis as librarian, and in the middle of the last century before Christ, Antiochus XIII, the last of the great house of Seleucus, established there a library and a museum, in the Alexandrian sense of a group of scholars supported by the state.[9] But Antioch was a city more famous for luxury and indulgence than for literary or intellectual achievement; the days of Libanius and Chrysostom were still far in the future.

This may help us to understand the perplexing fact that Luke ten years later, in a great literary center like Ephesus, shows no acquaintance with the Gospel of Matthew. Had Antioch been a place where books were written and published and circulated, as they were at Ephesus, the Gospel of Matthew might have reached Ephesus before Luke completed his book. But it evidently did not, and this accords very well with what we can learn about the literary life of Antioch.

Yet it was in Antioch that Christian literature took its next forward step. It well illustrates the tremendous power of primitive Christianity that in an environment of such moral laxity it should have produced the world's greatest statement of morals.

From the days of its foundation, Antioch had always included a large Jewish element. And this is an important element in the background of the Gospel of Matthew. Its opposition to Judaism and to the Jews is very marked, and is much more than a historical retrospect; it reflects an

[9] Walden, *Universities of Ancient Greece*, p. 50.

acute contemporary condition. The church is already facing the synagogue, and Jewish and Christian moralities are confronting each other, embodied in definite religious groups. This is the unmistakable atmosphere of Matthew, nowhere more natural than in Antioch. In Matthew we behold Christianity definitely emerging out of Judaism and shaking Judaism off.

The Gospel of Matthew was from one point of view precisely one of those didactic biographies in which Hellenistic literature delighted. That it was the greatest of them and the most enduring, although unambitious in literary style, is not wholly explained by the greatness of its hero and the worth of his teaching. A score of other gospel writers had the same theme, but fell far short of the achievement of the evangelist of Antioch. The organization of what survived or had developed as Jesus' teaching into a series of Jesus' sermons, interspersed with incident and action, gave the book the true didactic quality, without relaxing the intensity of its interest. And one of the most remarkable things about the gospels is the entire absence of the commonplace. Renan said the Gospel of Matthew was the most important book in the world, and it would indeed be difficult to name one that is more important.

It is not necessary to repeat here the story of the origin of Matthew. It sprang out of the conflict in Antioch of Church and Synagogue, and saw in the recent fall of Jerusalem both the proof of Jesus' Messiahship and the punishment of the Jews for rejecting him. It reorganized and enriched the Gospel of Mark, producing on the basis of it and of other sources a didactic biography of Jesus, embodying also a statement of Christian ethics over against those of the Pharisaic Judaism that had survived the destruction of

the Jewish temple, cultus and national life. It was this that made it ethically the richest book in the New Testament, or anywhere else.

Matthew was the first real book of Christian literature, for Mark, with all its value, was hardly Mark's book, and hardly Peter's, and possesses nothing like the clear-cut controlling purpose of Matthew's gospel. Matthew was written like Mark in the popular non-literary Greek, and addressed to the great Greek world of people not highly educated but able to read and write, and to enjoy such books as these.

Christian literary activity first becomes conscious in the Gospel of Matthew. It took what seemed the unorganized materials of Mark, and edited, organized and enriched them, boldly and freely, and for a definite purpose. If Mark had perished as the other sources used by Matthew have done, we should have lost this clear glimpse of the emergence of Christian literary activity in its conscious beginnings. As it is, we can almost stand at the evangelist's elbow, and watch him as he rearranges, omits, alters, improves, inserts, expands, combines. A patient study of any Greek or English harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, read in Matthew's own order, will bring the reader astonishingly near to the mind and purpose of the evangelist, and reveal Christian literary technique in its earliest stage.[10]

We have seen Christian writing beginning in quite non-literary ways with Paul's letters to his friends; taking a semi-literary form in the Petrine memoirs known to us as Mark; and then developing into the more definite, balanced, organized Gospel of Matthew. A decade after Mat-

[10] This was indelibly impressed upon me in the years of work devoted to the minute comparison of the Synoptic Gospels, in collaboration with Dr. Ernest D. Burton upon our *Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in Greek,* Chicago, 1920.

thew appeared in Antioch, it took another even more remarkable step in literary technique, in a Christian book in two volumes, known to us as Luke and Acts. This was in Ephesus.

Harnack called Ephesus the second fulcrum of Christianity after Antioch. Rome and Antioch were on the fringes of the Greek world; Ephesus was nearer its center. One of the ancient Ionian cities, it faced Athens, across the Aegean. Ephesus and its neighbors had played no small part in Greek thought and letters. Thirty miles away, at Miletus, Thales had worked out his natural philosophy; and Ephesus itself about B. C. 500, had been the home of Heraclitus who is said to have been the first Greek prose writer to express his personality in his style.

At Miletus, Hecataeus, the logographer, had flourished, and a few miles further south, at Halicarnassus, his successor Herodotus had written his *History*. Eighty miles to the north was Pergamum, where its great king, Attalus, had created a library second only to that at Alexandria. The elder Pliny quotes Varro as saying that Ptolemy, in fear that this library would surpass him, forbade the exportation of papyrus from Egypt, and thus led the Pergamenes to perfect their local writing material, parchment, which was named pergamena, after Pergamum; whence our word parchment is derived.[11] In the splendid group of public buildings with which Attalus and his son Eumenes adorned the city, the great library stood with the palace, the temple of Athena, and the great altar of Zeus, with its world-famed giant frieze. When Antony, about B. C. 41, presented the library to Cleopatra, it was said to contain two hundred thousand rolls. Certainly no city except Alexandria, and

[11] Varro, in Pliny, *Natural History*, 13, 11, 21.

perhaps Athens, had done more for books than Pergamum. There was a Christian church there before the end of the first century, for it is one of the Seven Churches of the Revelation.

Ephesus too had its great library; the ruins of its remarkable building have been uncovered. Of the abundance of books in private hands there, the Acts gives striking testimony, as we have seen, when it states that ten thousand dollars' worth of magical books were burned at one time in Ephesus.[12] Several thousand books must have gone up in smoke on this occasion, which suggests how many such books there must have been in Ephesus, for those burned must have been only a small fraction of the total number there; and how great must have been the publishing activity in this field of book production alone. That these magical books had a market value shows that they were professionally made and sold. And if the Ephesians could thus easily dispense with ten thousand dollars' worth of magical books, what thousands of dollars' worth of other books—poems, plays, histories, philosophies, dialogues, novels, biographies—must they be supposed to have possessed.

The place of Ephesus in Christian writing is significant. First Corinthians was written there, as well as one earlier and one later letter of Paul's to Corinth. The Acts says that Prisca and Aquila had met Apollos at Ephesus and the brethren there had given him a letter of introduction to the Christians at Corinth.[13] The last chapter of Romans was a letter introducing a Christian woman of Cenchreae to the Christians of Ephesus.[14] Luke's special interest in the church

[12] Acts 19:19.
[13] Acts 18:27.
[14] Romans, Chap. 16.

at Ephesus—it is the only church to which he describes Paul as uttering an elaborate farewell [15]—strongly suggests that Luke-Acts was written at Ephesus. John, the prophet of the Revelation, belonged to the circle of Ephesus, and the Gospel of John has generally been recognized as an Ephesian gospel. The probability that Paul's letters and later the Four Gospels were collected and published at Ephesus must be considered later.

Altogether, Ephesus was the leading center of Christian literary activity and publication, toward the close of the first and the beginning of the second century. In such an atmosphere it would not be strange if the Christian literary development we have been observing should take a new step. The seed of the gospel message was the same everywhere, but, as the parable pointed out, it made a great difference into what kind of soil the seed fell. And the soil of Roman Asia was literary and intellectual soil. "All Ionia," said Philostratus a little more than a century later, "is like a college of learned men, with Smyrna holding the first place."

It was in Ephesus, at all events, that Christian writing took another great stride forward, more ambitious and of wider scope, in a Christian book in two volumes.

No finding of modern New Testament study is more certain than that Luke and Acts are not two distinct works, one an afterthought and later sequel of the other, but two volumes of a single work, conceived, written, and issued as a whole. The difference may not seem great, but, in fact, so considered and approached, each volume gains immensely in clearness and meaning, as does our sense of the writer's literary skill. It becomes possible to trace the main

[15] Acts 20:17–38.

traits and interests that run through both volumes, and matters of date, occasion, and purpose are cleared up.

It is at once apparent that when a Christian writer reached the point of grouping his material in two volumes, Christian publishing had reached a point far advanced, and Christian writers were awakening to contemporary Greek techniques of composition and publication. Luke's book in two volumes, finds an interesting parallel in Josephus' book against Apion, also in two volumes, which appeared in Greek at about the same time, with a preface at the beginning of volume one and a resumptive sentence at the beginning of volume two that present extraordinary resemblances to the corresponding sentences in Luke and Acts; which shows how fully the contemporary literary patterns of the time were being appropriated by Christian writers.[16]

We must not here review the story of the origin of Luke's book. My own conclusions on that much debated matter I have set forth in my recent *Introduction to the New Testament*. But we may remind ourselves that to conceive the writing of a historical sketch of the Christian movement from its beginnings, including not only the ministry of Jesus but the spread of the new faith over the Greek world all the way to Rome, was a feat of literary imagination of no mean order, and then to present this story in two volumes closely coherent and yet each virtually complete in itself, shows that here was a man thoroughly capable of executing the task he had conceived.

The first volume, which we know as the Gospel of Luke, had its precedent in Mark; Luke was not acquainted with the Gospel of Matthew, though he wrote probably ten

[16] The resemblances of Josephus to Luke in this respect are given in my *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 190, 191.

years later than its author. His Acts volume, however, stands alone; he has no rival here, and what a torrent of absorbing narrative it is, stripped of the impediments of Stephen Langton's chapters and Robert Etienne's verses, and faithfully translated into modern prose.

The advance in Christian literary techniques is unmistakable: Mark, the informal Petrine memoirs; Matthew, the book with a purpose; the Luke-Acts, the two-volume history of Christian beginnings from those opening scenes in Jerusalem until Paul reaches Rome, and finds Christianity already established there.

I feel a new sense of the power and vigor of the young Christian movement as I observe its swift and full appropriation of the literary technique in the years 70 to 90, when it began to employ publication in its great mission. The Jews in Egypt had done something like this three centuries before when they translated their Law into Greek and virtually published it. The Rylands Deuteronomy of B. C. 150 is not a private scrawl but a professional copy, sold and bought in a bookstore. Such were the Old Testament rolls that formed the scripture library of the primitive church. And what a library they formed! Not one small convenient book as with us, but a set of pigeonholes each with its little roll, of Genesis, I Samuel or Isaiah. It would have taken forty rolls of ordinary length to accommodate the Greek Bible. No wonder they called them "Biblia" (biblos meant papyrus)—the papyrus rolls, par excellence.

The early church was doing a number of things in the days that produced the New Testament; developing its church life and organization, its liturgy, and its beliefs, as well as maintaining itself in the face of constant danger and frequent persecution. At much of this we can only

guess. But of its literary advance we have a clear view in the books of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. And from the way Christian leaders adopted writing and publication for the purposes of their propaganda, we can gain a new conception of the energy and address of the leaders of the movement and of the vitality and force of its great ideas.

Little attention is usually paid to the practical aspects of early Christianity. The whole is generally viewed through such a haze of sanctity that the part played and the work done by men of affairs in those great days of religion are generally missed. That such men there were, however, planning, guiding, organizing, is plain from the literary history of the movement. These books did not publish, collect or circulate themselves. There were strong men of faith, vision and outreaching energy behind the promotion of them, implementing the missionary initiative which in so short a time permeated the world.

It was much that there were in the early church men capable of conceiving and also of executing such books as those of Matthew and Luke. But it was much that there were also men of affairs, capable of publishing and circulating these books. Without such coöperation these early gospels might have lain in church chests neglected and unknown, as the letters of Paul were at this very time. Paul had not found a publisher; Matthew and Luke had.

And if this be thought too modern a way of looking at things, let us recall the story of Origen of Alexandria and his friend and publisher Ambrose about A. D. 225. Ambrose was a man of wealth and position, of schismatic views (he was either a Gnostic or a Marcionite) until Origen convinced him of the error of his way. It was he who urged

Origen to write his commentaries on the Scriptures, as Eusebius puts it, "not only exhorting him by word, but also furnishing abundant means. For he (Origen) dictated to more than seven amanuenses, who relieved each other at appointed times, and he employed no fewer copyists, besides girls who were skilled in elegant writing. For all these Ambrose furnished the necessary expense in abundance." [17] There were such men in the Christian church in the first part of the third century as there are such men in it today. And there were such men in it in the last years of the first century, and never did they work with greater energy and wisdom. Why should they be forgotten?

In that dawn of Christian literary activity that produced the first gospels and the first sketch of Christian history, one voice is missing; the voice of Paul. What a contribution he could have made to this immensely fruitful development, when Christianity was first finding its way to literary expression. Could no one bring him back, to play his part in this new stage of history? And if he can be brought back, what effect will he produce? It would be like rousing a giant from his sleep.

The dramatic situation presented by these questions, the recovery of Paul and what came of it, will engage us in the third chapter.

[17] *Church History*, 6:23:2.

CHAPTER III

THE CLIMAX OF CHRISTIAN PUBLICATION

We have seen that in the first age of Christian literature that produced the first gospels, one voice was missing, the voice of Paul. The fruits of his personal work still endured, it is true, and personal memories of him lingered, but his words seemed to have perished, for the first evangelists show no knowledge of him as a writer, except for some slight influence of Romans upon Mark, natural if Mark wrote in Rome, where of course Romans was preserved.

And what a contribution Paul might have made to that fruitful literary development that was now dawning upon Christianity! What books he might have written, had he lived in the days when Christians had awakened to the possibilities of publication! Could no one bring him back, to play his part on this new stage of history, to which he was so intellectually suited? And if he can be brought back, what effect will he produce?

As a matter of fact, immediately after the publication of Luke-Acts, a new force appears in Christian literature: it is the collected letters of Paul. Unknown to the first evangelists and the first historians, the Pauline literature meets us fullblown in practically all the literature that followed, and that literature displays an extraordinary acceleration in frequency, and increase in volume. Almost every Christian writing of the next twenty years, 90 to 110, unmistakably

reflects the use of from six to ten of Paul's letters—the Revelation, Hebrews, First Clement, First Peter, Ignatius, Polycarp, the Letters and Gospel of John—and this familiarity continues to color Christian writing steadily thereafter, through James, the Letters to Timothy and Titus, and Second Peter—all the rest of the writings of the New Testament, and Marcion, too.

Of course this means just one thing in the first century, as it would in the twentieth; Paul's letters had been published. Yet many scholars refuse this simple, natural explanation, because they have never acquainted themselves with the facts about ancient publication, and, confusing it with printing, have come to think of it as a modern practice.

We are familiar with the custom of publishing the collected letters of distinguished men. But this was also a common practice of antiquity. At least two collections of Cicero's letters were made and published not long after his death in 43 B. C., by his freedman Tiro, and these underwent large additions in subsequent editions. Pliny the Younger was a great letter writer, and declares that he was urged by his friend Septicius to collect and publish his letters, and he did so, early in the second century. This on the Latin side. In Greek, a collection of Plato's letters, one or two of them perhaps genuine, had long been in circulation; there was also a collection of the letters of Epicurus. A few years after Luke-Acts was written the letters of Apollonius of Tyana were collected and published; there is said to have been a copy in Hadrian's palace. The ancients were familiar with the practice of collecting and publishing the letters of distinguished men, whether Greek or Roman. In fact, they were doing it in both Greek and Latin in New Testament times. It would not be in the least unnatural for

a Greek Christian group that had sponsored the publication of Luke's two-volume history, to do as much for Paul's letters, supposing anyone knew of their existence or where they were to be found. The facts are, that up to the publication of Luke-Acts no Christian writer knows more than one letter of Paul; Mark apparently knows Romans. Immediately after the appearance of Luke-Acts, every Christian writer seems to know most or all of them. How can this have come about? In the light of the literary fact of this sudden general acquaintance with Paul's letters, let us reconstruct the probable lines of the history.

If you or I read a newly published sketch of some distinguished man, with whom we or some relative of ours may have had some connection, it is very natural for us to say, "Haven't we got some of his old letters up in the attic, or in the files of some organization we belong to?" Our interest in what he wrote is awakened by our new knowledge of what he did, for it immediately assumes a new significance in the light of our new information. The Greeks were like us in this respect, or rather we are like them, for they were doing such things long before our day.

Luke's second volume contains the most arresting account of Paul that has ever been written. It must have been even more moving and stirring when Acts first appeared, and cannot have failed to revive interest in the figure of Paul. The English reader, hampered by word-for-word translations and an apparatus of mediæval chapters and modern verses, can form little idea of the torrent of interest and excitement that Greek sketch was to its earliest readers. The main effect of most books is their *immediate* effect —the impression they make upon the public out of which they spring and for which they are written. If you doubt

it, ask your bookseller for almost any book published five years ago. It was inevitable that Luke-Acts would produce an immediate effect upon its public. And upon one reader its effect was to interest him in any letters of Paul that might have survived the lapse of thirty years since Paul's death.

But what could have made him think that Paul wrote any letters worth mentioning and worth looking for?

Now while Paul's letters had been scattered about the Mediterranean all the way from Galatia to Rome, Paul himself had quite unconsciously taken one short step toward collecting them when he told the Colossians to share his letter to them with the Laodicean Christians a few miles away, and to borrow from the Laodiceans the letter he was sending them. The natural result of these instructions would be that copies of both letters would be known in each of these churches in the Lycus valley in Asia, and that copies of the two letters would be deposited in the church chests of both churches.

Suppose that some Christian of Colossae or Laodicea, aware that these letters existed, stored away in such a chest, or perhaps possessed of them himself and not knowing of the existence of any other letters of Paul, picked up Luke's two short volumes and found there not simply a life of Christ but a sketch of the Christian activity of Paul. There is no mention of Colossae or Laodicea in the Acts, but Luke's brilliant sketch of Paul's missionary work in Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia, and Rome would at once remind the reader of the letters from Paul he knew lay in his church chest at Colossae or Laodicea. And the question would rise in his mind—for men's minds then were not so unlike our own today— Can there be other letters of Paul's

in these other places that are mentioned in the Acts? It would be a natural thing for such a man, fired by Luke's account of Paul, to write or travel to these places, and look in the church chests at each of them for any traces of other letters from Paul.

In some such way, certainly, perhaps in just this way, some Asian Christian gathered the few letters of Paul we know into a collection and published them. That they were collected and published between the appearance of Luke-Acts and the writing of the Revelation is sure, for Luke-Acts shows no knowledge of them, while the Revelation, Apocalypse though it is, begins with a corpus of letters to Christian churches, seven in number—a literary organization evidently copied from the newly published Pauline corpus of letters to Christian churches, seven in number. This is still clearer when we observe that the Revelation letter corpus is not an actual collection of letters written and delivered and thus scattered about the province of Asia and having to be actually assembled; the collection arrangement in the Revelation is only a literary device, for each of the churches gets all the letters, besides a general letter to all seven, and the rest of the Revelation as well.

It is a curious fact that the story in Acts would have guided an Asian searcher, who already had Colossians-Laodiceans, to all the rest of the church letters in the collection —Romans, Corinthians, Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians—for Acts connects Paul with all these places. But it would never have guided a Roman, Galatian, or Corinthian collector, or a Philippian or Thessalonian, to Colossae or Laodicea, for those two places are not mentioned in the Acts, and yet letters to those churches appear in the collection.

Imagine the emotions of the man who first collected the letters of Paul and read them. Would he not be overwhelmed? From under the very feet of the churches he had unearthed a veritable treasure of inestimable worth. He has revived, awakened Paul, and brought him to life again, as a factor in the Christian conflict.

Have you never thought in great moments like the present, If only Napoleon could reappear, with his military genius, to lead the armies of France! Or Nelson could again command the English fleet! But for our Asian collector of Paul's letters that dream had come true. He had brought Paul back as a literary force to the world. He was the first man who ever read Paul's assembled letters. Is it any wonder he proclaimed them as inspired, pointed to Paul as not only the heroic missionary to the Greeks, but the writer to them of such messages as showed what unique insight into spiritual truth had been granted him? [1] This is the explanation of the general letter known to us as Ephesians, and written in the name of Paul by the collector and publisher of his letters, to bring out their lasting religious values, and commend them to the churches of the last decade of the first century. This explains the fact that Ephesians shows the use of all the other nine letters, and that for every line of it parallels can be found in those letters or in the Acts.[2] It also explains its general, encyclical character, so unlike Paul's practice or situations, but so appropriate to his first publisher, who naturally wishes to introduce Paul as a writer, to God's people everywhere. It is significant that the letter collection that begins the Revelation opens with

[1] Eph. 3:4–11.

[2] See the table of such parallels that forms the second part of my *The Meaning of Ephesians.*

a general letter to all the seven churches, which makes it altogether likely that the Pauline letter collection, already before the writer, began similarly with a general letter to all Christians, introducing them to the religious values that —in spite of the local conditions that they were written to meet—still lay in the Pauline letters, and pointing these out.

It is a singular fact that any single letter of Paul's gains greatly in effectiveness from being associated with the rest. There is much that is local and temporary in each of them, but when they are put together this disappears before the weight of their deeper religious values. The physical putting together of the letters seems to make of them a composite from which individual peculiarities disappear as they do in a composite photograph.

Mechanically speaking, the publication of a two-volume edition of Paul's letters would be a most natural sequel to the two-volume work of Luke that had just appeared at Ephesus; for the ten church letters would make two full papyrus rolls, just as Luke-Acts did.

It is altogether probable that an Asian Christian, possessed of Colossians—Philemon, had his interest in Paul revived by reading the Acts, and was thus led to search out and collect Paul's letters, and these so stirred him that he wrote what we call Ephesians as an introduction to them, and published them.

But whatever may be thought of these suggestions—and if there is any more probable explanation of the facts, I should welcome it—it is certain that the collection of Paul's letters was as important and influential an event in the growth of the New Testament as the writing of almost any book in it, and that collection was an act not of composition but of publication. Apart from the new introductory letter, it was

nothing else. Editorial work upon the collection there must have been, but it was inconsiderable—the combining of two letters to Corinth into one, of two short notes to Philippi into one, and the joining of Phoebe's letter of introduction to the church at Ephesus to Romans.

This last suggests that the collection may have been made at Ephesus, by some Christian from the Lycus valley who knew that there were two short letters from Paul in the church chests at Colossae or Laodicea, or who even had copies of them himself and had pored over them. If we are right in thinking that the collection was occasioned by the appearance (probably at Ephesus) of Luke-Acts, and that it is first reflected in the Revelation, an unquestioned product of the Ephesian circle, Ephesus would be a natural place for such an undertaking, rather than Laodicea or Colossae, which were not Christian literary centers, though their close neighbor, Hierapolis, became one a generation later, when Papias flourished there. To Ephesus a Christian of Colossae or Laodicea, setting out to look for letters of Paul, would first turn, and there he would find the short note of introduction Paul had once given Phoebe of Cenchreae when she was going from Corinth to Ephesus, which must have been kept in the church chest at Ephesus not only because it had come from Paul but because it listed by name more than a score of the Ephesian Christians of his day. While it was too short to stand alone as a letter to represent Ephesus in the collection, it must be preserved and so was appended to Romans.

But who can have come from Colossae or Laodicea to Ephesus, bringing copies of the letters Paul had written to those churches, and there have made such a collection?

Many a Christian doubtless journeyed from those cities to Ephesus in that period, but we know definitely of only one likely to have done so, and he is the man to whom the letters to the Colossians and to Philemon meant most—the runaway slave for whom Paul had interceded in Philemon and to save whom he had insisted that both letters be read to both churches. What became of Onesimus?

Dr. John Knox has shown that it is decidedly probable that the Onesimus who was bishop of Ephesus about A. D. 110, is the same person as Philemon's slave, Onesimus, for Ignatius in writing to the Ephesians about that time blends references to the bishop with echoes from the Letter to Philemon.[3] There is certainly nothing to interfere with this identification. If Philemon did indeed send him back to work with Paul (and it is very likely that he did, since the letter asking it was preserved), Onesimus can hardly have been indifferent to the two letters which had not only saved him from a cruel fate but led him into the Christian ministry and transformed his whole life. The rest of the world might forget Colossians and Philemon, but he would not. They meant more to him than to anyone else in the world.

Imagine this Onesimus—whose promise of Christian service had so appealed to Paul when he was a runaway slave—trained by Paul for the Christian service and then active in that service as the years went by, and now a man of fifty, one day at Ephesus reading Luke's new sketch of Christian beginnings, with its vivid picture of Paul, and its account of his journeys and churches. Who more likely than the man Paul had befriended and set upon his feet to see the pos-

[3] Ignatius, *Ephesians*, chapters 1–6.

sibility that there might be other letters than the ones he cherished, still lying forgotten in the church chests of these other cities where Paul had worked?

If he was the collector of the letters he was probably also the writer of the great introduction known to us as Ephesians, though the oldest manuscripts omit the words "in Ephesus" from the salutation.[4] Some scholars have a strong conviction that the writer of Ephesians was a personal follower of Paul; and they may be right. Onesimus would satisfy that condition. And who would be more likely than Onesimus to begin his introductory letter with such a tumultuous jubilate over the manifold blessings of the Christian salvation, to point to Paul as not only the missionary to the Greeks and the martyr to their cause, but a Christian writer as well? [5] And what could be more natural than that such a man as had collected and published Paul's letters and written in almost Pauline style a great introduction, an overture, to them, should in later years become the bishop of Ephesus, and such a bishop as Ignatius so extols? This is all in the realm of conjecture, it is true, but it has no small degree of probability.

Such a theory of the origin of Ephesians explains the fact that while it shows unmistakable acquaintance with all nine of the Pauline letters, it is Colossians that has influenced it most. Indeed, three-fifths of Colossians is reflected in Ephesians. What can this mean except that the writer of Ephesians has known Colossians longer and hence better than any other Pauline letter? Certainly, on its merits, Colossians cannot claim any such primacy over Romans, First Corin-

[4] The Michigan papyrus, the first hand of Vaticanus and the first hand of Sinaiticus omit "in Ephesus."

[5] Eph. 3:3, 4.

thians or Galatians. But if someone like Onesimus had had Colossians a long time and been steeped in its language, it might well influence him more than these greater letters which he had just read for the first time. If it was not Onesimus who collected Paul's letters and wrote the great overture to them that we know as Ephesians—and of course we cannot assert that it was—it was certainly just such another figure as he—some Christian of Roman Asia, about A. D. 90, most familiar with Colossians, so devoted to Paul that he sought out his letters, with insight keen enough to perceive their lasting religious values, and with such ability as a writer that his introduction to them has stood ever since on a level with the greatest of Paul's own letters:—such a man was the Great Unknown to whom hardly less than to the Apostle himself, we owe the Pauline corpus.

That it was the publication of Acts that precipitated the collecting and publishing of Paul's letters may by some be questioned, but that such a collection of them was published soon after the appearance of Luke-Acts is abundantly proved by the shower of Christian letters that ensued—in the Revelation, Hebrews, I Peter, I Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, James, and John.

Not only did the publication of the collected letters of Paul bring on a shower of Christian letters, some of them to churches (like I Clement), some to Christians of whole districts (like I Peter), and some to all Christians everywhere (like James), but a series of letter-collections emerged. There are the letters to the Seven Churches at the beginning of the Revelation; the Letters of John; the Letters of Ignatius, seven in number, accompanied probably from their first circulation as a collection by the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, which functioned as an in-

troductory letter, after the fashion of Ephesians in the Pauline corpus, or Revelation, chapter 1, in the Revelation corpus. Then there were the letters to Timothy and Titus, which must be understood as a group, written to enlarge the Pauline corpus and free it from the suspicion Marcion's adoption of it had created. All these collections or corpuses gain very much in intelligibility when they are recognized as sequels and imitations of the great Pauline model, and as written as groups, not as detached individual units. The recognition of this fact corrects the old atomistic approach to these writings, and throws a new light upon the Johannine, the Pastoral and the Ignatian letters.

And both the individual letters and the letter collections were so manifestly written, not like Paul's for an immediate local situation only, but for publication and circulation. This is what Deissmann meant by his keen distinction between letter and epistle in the New Testament. The letter is private and personal; the epistle is for publication. And the New Testament epistles show the direct influence of Paul's private letters, which by their time had been published.

The first Christian book to appear after the publication of Paul's letters, is the Revelation of John, written by a Christian prophet of the circle of Ephesus, in the days of Domitian's persecution. That it was really meant for publication is shown not only by the fact that it is addressed to the Christian population of seven Asian cities, but by its warning that its text is not to be altered, by addition or subtraction, 22 : 18, 19. I do not suppose the prophet meant that no one is to read any portion of it in church without reading the whole; it is rather the alteration of the book's contents in subsequent editions that is forbidden.

The Revelation gives us a clear glimpse of the ancient book form, the papyrus scroll—biblion—for it is such a book, written within and on the back, 5 : 1—an opisthograph roll, as we say—and sealed with seven seals, that the Lamb takes from the hand of him who sits on the throne. In its closing lines, the Revelation also speaks of itself as a biblion, or papyrus roll. This word, translated "book," is often taken to refer to the whole New Testament or even the entire Bible, a sense biblion could not possibly bear, of course. The Greek word for that would have been the plural, biblia.

I have dwelt upon this matter of the first collection and the publication of Paul's half-forgotten letters because it is almost wholly neglected by learning, because it carries with it the solution of the problem of Ephesians, and because it is the key to the literary development that immediately followed. The revival of Paul in the form of his assembled letters gave a new form and direction to Christian writing. Christians had only a few years before created and developed the gospel type of literature; but upon the appearance of the Pauline collection, they turned away from their own new and characteristic literary type to the letter type so brilliantly represented in Paul's letters when once they were presented together. And further, the recognition of the origin of the Pauline corpus puts in our hands a new principle for the intelligent organization of the literature of the New Testament.

The world has never ceased to draw stimulus and inspiration from Paul's letters, from the hour of their publication unto this day, and we can imagine what a sensation they must have created when they first burst upon the attention of the churches. Paul grappled with some of the

great problems of human life with a vigor and directness that have never since been surpassed. Of course, this was at once apparent. With the appearance of his letters, new spiritual forces began to work within the churches, and new literary forces, too.

It is as though a new sun had risen upon the Christian literary scene, lighting it up. And the letters that immediately follow form such a close-knit sequence. The Revelation which appeared immediately after the publication of the Pauline letter collection, and so closely copied its structure, with a general letter followed by letters to seven churches—for all its great message of faith in persecution, had forgotten the gospel duty of forgiving one's enemies, and adopted an attitude of hostility and bitterness to the Roman government: 14 : 8; 17 : 5, 9; 18 : 2–20. Very soon after, what we know as Hebrews, strongly influenced by the Pauline literature, was addressed primarily to the Roman church, summoning it in the light of its own great past and with its great founders, to take up the task of teaching the younger churches, 5 : 12, instead of itself having to be taught over and over again, the rudiments of Christianity. First Peter is the response of the Roman church to this challenge, 5 : 13. It is not a private letter but a published epistle. How else could it be delivered to its intended readers, the Christian believers of the five great provinces of Asia Minor? The Revelation addressed the Christian public of the Roman province of Asia, city by city; First Peter addresses the Christian public of Asia Minor, not by cities but by provinces. It is addressed "to those who are scattered as foreigners over Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia."

Of course this means publication; it could hardly be

more plainly so. If First Peter is written to substitute a Christian attitude of forgiving one's enemies and persecutors for the revengeful attitude of the Revelation toward them, this is all the more significant. For if the unchristian doctrine of hating your enemies has been taught the churches of Asia, every Christian in the five provinces of Asia Minor must be taught the duty of forgiveness.[6] "How many times am I to forgive my brother when he wrongs me?" Peter had asked, "Seven times over?" And Jesus had answered, "Not seven times, I tell you, but seventy-seven times over!" [7] How appropriate it was that this great reassertion of Christian forgiveness should have been sent out broadcast by the Roman church in the name of Peter!

This bent toward publication is even more evident in the Epistle of James. James is evidently an ancient Christian homily, a sermon from the early years of the second century; a sermon so good that it was published, by being cast into the form of an epistle addressed "to the twelve tribes that are scattered over the world." This is an encyclical with a vengeance. (The Christians are thought of—as Paul and First Peter thought of them—as the true Israel of God, Jews not outwardly but inwardly,[8] scattered in a new dispersion all over the world. And to all such Christians the epistle is directed.) Of course this meant publication, just as it did in the case of Ephesians with the accompanying Pauline collection, and in the case of the Revelation and of First Peter. The entire absence of local situations or problems reflected is in full accord with this, as it was in Ephesians. Both are Christian encyclicals, meant for Christians

[6] I Peter 2:13–17.
[7] Matt. 18:21, 22.
[8] Romans 2:29.

everywhere. In an age when publication was universal in the Greek world, this says, as plainly as words can say it, that these epistles were published.

Christianity had begun to write, with personal letters, in Greek, to Greek churches; it had gone on to Greek gospels, a Greek history, and Greek epistles, written in imitation of Paul. But its vocabulary remained Jewish. A Greek inquirer would have to be given a short course in Jewish religion before he could consider adopting the new faith. The church was addressing a Greek public in Jewish terms.

Was there no way in which the essential religious message of Christianity could be directly communicated to the Greek mind, without being forever detoured through Jewish theology? Was there no way of stating essential Christianity that would be immediately intelligible to the Greeks, among whom, it was now evident, its future lay? Could not the spark be passed directly to the Greek spirit?

The Gospel of John is the answer. It is in a sense the resultant of the earlier gospels, but it shows the use also of the ten letters in the Pauline collection. In form it is as much a dialogue as a gospel, as any intelligent modern paragraphing of it reveals, and the dialogue, we remember, was a Greek literary device for making philosophy easy. John is a blending of these two literary types, dialogue and gospel, with its teaching strongly colored by the published letters of Paul. And yet it does not hesitate definitely to depart from Paul at times.

It is surely superfluous to observe that the Gospel of John was published. No book in the world has had such a circulation—or now has. As far back as we can trace their circulation, the gospels have been the most popular books in the world. It is a familiar fact that there are more manu-

scripts of the Greek New Testament than of any other original work of literature in the world, and among these New Testament manuscripts the tetraevangelia, the gospel codices, are by far the most numerous, far outnumbering the codices containing the Acts and the epistles. The Gospel of John has of course shared the great circulation of the four gospels, the New Testament and the Bible generally. When, at the Reformation, first the New Testament and then the Bible passed into German and English translations, these Bibles surpassed all publication records, and when the Bible Society today issues the four gospels in separate pamphlets, John far outruns the rest, attaining a separate circulation, the last time I examined the figures, of 1,200,000 copies a year.

If there were the slightest doubt in anyone's mind, however, that the Gospel of John was intended for publication, it should be dispelled by its opening words, "In the beginning," which are unmistakably repeated from the Book of Genesis. It is as though the writer offered his book as a sort of sequel to Genesis; certainly he wishes to attract to his work the great public the Book of Genesis possessed, for he wishes to throw light upon that mysterious sentence, "Let us make man." To whom was it addressed but to that divine Wisdom, or Word, which was with God in the beginning and has now found embodiment in Christ? [9] In that opening phrase the new evangelist aimed high, and we cannot say that he fell short of his aim.

The Gospel of John had a further, secondary consequence of the utmost importance. It led to the collecting of the earlier local gospels, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and their publication with John, in the great fourfold gospel we

[9] See *Wisdom* 9:1, 2.

know so well that we simply take it for granted. But the four gospels were not written as a collection, but as scattered units, at considerable intervals, by different hands, and in various parts of the Greek world. They often duplicate one another's materials; three-fifths of Mark is repeated in Luke, and fifteen-sixteenths of it reappears in Matthew. Liturgically and historically, as Harnack pointed out long ago, one gospel would have suited church uses better than four. Yet early in the second century, these four were assembled and published, for from A. D. 125 on most Christian writings show the influence of the collected four; the Preaching of Peter, II Peter, the Gospel of Peter, Papias of Hierapolis, the Epistle of the Apostles, the recently found British Museum gospel fragment, and Justin Martyr—all show the use of the fourfold gospel, which must have been produced as a collection not long before or after A. D. 120. Like the making of the Pauline letter collection, this was an act of publication and nothing else.[10] It was done to further the influence of the new Ephesian gospel, the Gospel of John, which still stands, and originally stood, at the end of the collection, closing the great series of presentations of Jesus with its interpretation of him in Greek terms. Indeed, the arrangement seems to be from the most Jewish gospel to the most Greek.

This fact, combined with the previous record of Ephesus as a center of Christian writing and publication, goes far to prove that it was at Ephesus that the great collection was made and published. The writings in which it is first reflected are mostly of Asian origin. Certainly it was the climax of that first great era of Christian publication which I

[10] It is true there was probably editorial work in the Conclusion of Mark, and the Epilogue (Chapter 21) of John.

have endeavored to sketch. It was a publishing enterprise without a peer in the whole history of that activity. It is still basic in Christian usage, and it became the core of the New Testament.

We can understand how broad-minded Asian Christians, like Polycarp of Smyrna and Onesimus of Ephesus, might, in the presence of the new Gospel of John which they felt was the key to the most pressing problems of the Greek mission, conceive the magnificent idea of assembling in a group with it the local gospels of Rome, Antioch and Ephesus, thus winning a larger hearing for the new gospel from the adherents of its older rivals, which already held the field. Objection to it would be disarmed if the older gospels were included with it in the new corpus, and their proved religious value and influence would thus be recognized. The soundness of this course was fully vindicated by the result, for the fourfold gospel sprang into such a position of Christian favor that in a dozen or twenty years it was being read in Christian worship side by side with the Old Testament scriptures, as Justin Martyr describes.[11]

But how was it accomplished? In what form could these four books, each big enough to occupy a Greek papyrus roll of usual length, have been so effectively combined that thenceforward they stood almost always and everywhere together? The collection was too large to be accommodated conveniently in a scroll or roll-form book. But to put them out as four separate rolls could hardly have produced the solid effectual orderly unification of them that soon so certainly prevailed.

Luke and Acts evidently—almost professedly, Acts 1 : 1—formed two rolls—biblia—and the Revelation calls itself a

[11] *Apology*, 67:3.

biblion, a papyrus roll, 22 : 18, 19, and its first vision is that of the roll—the biblion—of destiny, 5 : 1–5. Christians were using the roll form of book. Was it at this moment that Christian publishers took the momentous step of abandoning the prevalent roll form of book, and resorting to the codex, the leaf-book form then so rarely used for literary purposes? In such a form they could have effectively combined and arranged the four gospels, and made them as really one as they certainly soon were. It is difficult to see how they could have accomplished this in any other way.

But if they did this they were undoubtedly the most enterprising and progressive publishers of their day. Is there anything in early manuscript history to encourage the idea that they were so enlightened, or so in advance of their times?

There is fresh and substantial evidence that these Christian publishers very soon adopted the leaf-book or codex form for their religious library, or parts of it. One of the latest discoveries in New Testament manuscripts is the fragment of a papyrus leaf of John, discovered in the Rylands Library in Manchester, in 1935. This tiny piece of a leaf written on both sides is in a hand which experts agree is not later than A. D. 150 and probably comes from the time of Hadrian. If that is so, it was copied within a generation of the writing of the Gospel of John, and is our first reflection, in documents or in literature, of its existence. Most significant of all, it proves that by the 140's Christian publishers were using the leaf-book, the codex form, and the evidence of such other Christian manuscripts as we have from the second century confirms the impression that this was generally their practice. The British Museum

gospel fragment, from the middle of the second century, is from a leaf-book, not a roll.[12] The Michigan and Chester Beatty leaves of Paul, 86 in number, are assigned by the best German opinion to about 200, and may fairly be assigned to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. The Chester Beatty Numbers and Deuteronomy in Greek (parts of 55 leaves) and the Baden Exodus-Deuteronomy, are both assigned to the second century, and are from leaf-books, not rolls. They may fairly be claimed as Christian manuscripts, for the Jews have always been very conservative about the forms in which they preserved their scripture texts, and even today, the Torahs in the arks in their synagogues are in roll, not codex form. Moreover in the second century, as Justin intimates,[13] the Jews were relinquishing the Septuagint Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures to the Christians and were resorting to new versions less open to Christian apologetic use. Here are five Christian leaf-books from the second century, surprising evidence of Christian enterprise in appropriating that new book form. Let us review learned opinion and manuscript discovery for the past seven years on this matter.

Sir Frederic Kenyon put the matter very conservatively in his Schweich Lectures for 1932: "If the codex form was in use among the Christians of the second century, they may have already been accustomed to see the four gospels in a single book . . . It is now evident that, while the gospels no doubt continued to circulate also in separate rolls, they certainly were sometimes combined in codex form

[12] H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, London, British Museum, 1935.

[13] *Dialogue*, 29:2.

in the third century, and possibly also in the second." [14]

It is remarkable how the discoveries of the past seven years have borne out what Sir Frederic put forth so cautiously then. The Chester Beatty papyri were already, in part at least, before him. One was part of a leaf-book of Numbers-Deuteronomy, from the first half of the second century; another, the letters of Paul from the end of the second century, as Gerstinger and Wilcken date it. But there have since appeared the British Museum gospel fragment, the Rylands Gospel of John fragment, besides the Baden Exodus-Deuteronomy, all from the second century, and all Christian codices or leaf-books. These sufficiently establish the Christian appropriation of that book form from the second quarter of the second century onward. We should only be obliged to differ with Sir Frederic on the form in which separate gospels circulated; it was probably in the leaf-book form, not the roll, to judge by the Rylands John and the general probabilities as they now appear.

Dr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum wrote in 1937, "If I am not mistaken, every second-century Christian manuscript yet found . . . is a codex, and the fact is the more remarkable because second-century papyri of pagan literature are almost, perhaps entirely, without exception in roll form. It looks as if Christians were the most potent influence in the substitution, eventually in the case of all books, of the codex, whether vellum or papyrus, for the roll." [15] As Sir Frederic Kenyon said in 1937, "It seems that this (papyrus codex form), if not actually the invention of the Christian community, was at any rate mainly employed by

[14] *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible*, p. 55. See also Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, p. 100.

[15] *Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri*, p. 24.

them, for whereas the roll continues in practically universal use for works of pagan literature all through the second and third centuries, the majority of Christian works are in codex form." [16]

Professor Henry A. Sanders in his presidential address before the American Philological Association in December, 1937, summed up an elaborate survey of the rise of the codex thus: "By the end of the first century B. C. and still more in the first century A. D. codices were appearing in the book trade. For the Christian literature, codices were probably used from the first." [17] It is unfortunate for our study that Professor Sanders does not distinguish Greek manuscripts from Latin; our concern is with Christian publishers in the Greek period of Christianity. Yet the broader view his figures give us has a value of its own.

[16] *The Text of the Greek Bible*, p. 18.

[17] Professor Sanders, in his address as published ("The Beginnings of the Modern Book," *University of Michigan Quarterly Review*, 1938, p. 109), states that of classical authors, all fragments before the third century A. D. suggest the roll except four, two papyrus codices and two parchment. He does not give us the number of fragments, state whether they are Greek or Latin, or indicate to what century the four classical codices belong. "From the third century, he continues, "291 roll fragments are counted, all on papyrus, while there are found only sixteen papyrus codices and four vellum codices."

Of Christian manuscripts from the third century, on the other hand, there appear to be nine roll fragments, of which two are doubtful, but 35 papyrus codices and three vellum codices. In the fourth century, in which Professor Sanders counts 26 classical rolls to 49 classical codices, (32 papyrus and 17 parchment), he counts on the Christian side six pieces of rolls (four of them not from real books) against sixty-four codices, (42 papyrus, and 22 parchment). A table will make the bearing of this clearer:

	Classical		Christian	
century	roll	codex	roll	codex
II			1?	4
III	291	20	9?	38
IV	26	49	6?	64

That Christians used the codex form from the first, as Professor Sanders suggests, we cannot agree, since Luke's work was expressly grouped in two roll-volumes, and the Revelation actually describes itself as a biblion, or papyrus roll. To the end of the first century at least, Christian publishers employed the old-fashioned roll form for their books. The evidence for this is clear and explicit.[18] But that the Christian publishers seem to have preferred the codex form almost from the first, and the classical publishers followed very tardily in their wake, is manifest. The codex form is characteristically Christian.

While the Rylands papyrus codex of John probably contained nothing but that gospel, which would have made a book of 66 leaves, or 132 pages, the Chester Beatty codex of the four gospels and the Acts, written early in the third century, was a book of 110 leaves, or 220 pages. Those five books in modern print, in Greek or English, ordinarily require from 250 to 300 pages, of which the Acts cover between one-fourth and one-fifth. That early Christian publishers could get all that into one codex by the middle of the third century strongly favors the view that a century earlier they could have put forth the four gospels without the Acts in a single book. And if they could by A. D. 140 produce a codex of 66 leaves, such as the Rylands John, they might easily have produced one of 85 leaves, which in the size of the Chester Beatty Gospels-Acts would have contained the four gospels.

[18] Compare the plain statement of Luke in his two-volume, that is roll, work (Acts 1:1) and the references in Revelation to a roll, biblion, written within and on the back and closely sealed with seven seals, 5:1; for that such an object should have been described in a book not itself a scroll seems unlikely. Moreover, the Revelation speaks of itself expressly as a biblion—papyrus roll—four times in 22:18, 19.

"Why the early Christian communities should have preferred to have their sacred books written in the codex form rather than in the common roll form," says Mr. Roberts, "remains as obscure as ever." [19] But as we have seen, the early Christians had an immense religious literature to circulate, in the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures, and the greater capacity of the leaf-book, coupled with its greater convenience of reference and, as Roberts himself suggests, its relative cheapness, fully explains the preference, while the specific problem of having four separate gospels to unite into one may well have led to the first decisive step.

It is not certain whether the Rylands John came from Oxyrhynchus or the Fayum; still less certain where it was actually copied. It seems likely that it was a copy made in Alexandria from a copy brought across the Mediterranean, directly or indirectly, from Ephesus. Some wide reaching activity on the part of early Christian publishers is certainly involved in all this, for this Rylands copy was made probably in Egypt, within a generation of the writing of the Gospel of John around A. D. 110. The fact seems to have been that Christians adopted the leaf-book early in the second century, probably when the problem of the publication of the fourfold gospel arose, about A. D. 120, but perhaps even earlier in connection with the circulation of the very voluminous literature of the Greek Old Testament which every church and many Christians would want to possess.

The relation of the early Christians to this great advance in the publisher's art is important and significant. The closest religious rivals of the early church were the mystery

[19] *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 23.

enligions, of Isis, Osiris, Attis, and so on. These were essentially esoteric; they introduced the convert to certain secret truths—"mysteries"—made known to his bewildered mind in the course of a hair-raising initiation, or "mystery." Christianity, on the other hand, within fifty years of the death of Jesus became a publishing faith, exhausting the best known publishing techniques of its day and even going beyond them, to promote the religious literature it had inherited or was producing. This is a wholly neglected aspect of early Christian character and history, which has nevertheless had consequences that can only be described as prodigious, both for Christianity itself and for literary progress.

We have seen the early Christians probably of Ephesus, issuing Luke's two-volume book, in roll form; then assembling the scattered and almost forgotten letters of Paul, also in two volumes, that is of course rolls; but then early in the second century, doubtless moved by the great success and usefulness of the Pauline collection, putting forth their new gospel, John, accompanied by the older local gospels, in a great quartet, the Fourfold Gospel, in a single codex. The individual gospels continued to circulate to some extent, now as leaf-books for the most part; and just as the publication of the Pauline letters had stimulated the writing of Christian letters, now the joint publication of the four gospels brought on a new gospel-writing movement in the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Gospel of James, the Gospel of Thomas, and so on.

These two massive collections, of letters and gospels, however, came to represent standard Christianity, and when the time came to shape a Christian scripture, they of course

formed the bulk of it. It was around these collections, the work of Christian publishers, that the New Testament was built.

There were, of course, great religious personalities back of the books of the New Testament; of them and their successive contributions to the moral and spiritual life of mankind, I have spoken in my *Introduction to the New Testament*. That is a thrice-told story. I have sought in these lectures to call attention to another side of the early Christian literary movement, to which no attention is generally paid; how publication entered into it, and the part played by the far-sighted and devoted men who took these writings and by bold and brilliant strokes in publication carried them far beyond their original objectives and paved the way for their inclusion in the New Testament, when it came to be formed. This fills what has hitherto been a definite gap in our reconstruction of early Christian history and its makers. And it reveals to us a new phase of early Christian character and life. For there were men in the early church keenly alive to the part publication was playing in the Graeco-Roman world, who, in their zeal to spread the Christian message over that world, seized upon all the techniques of publication, not just the old traditional threadbare ones, but the newest and most progressive ones, and made use of them to the full in their Christian propaganda. In doing this they began the use on any large scale of the leaf-book, now in universal use. Their gospel was not an esoteric, secret mystery, but something to be proclaimed upon the housetops, and they made it their business to carry into effect the old slogan of the prophets, "Publish good tidings." The writing of the individual gospels was a great matter, of course, but the collecting of them, together

with their publication as a collection, was an altogether different act, and one of almost as much importance as the writing of some of them. The writing of Paul's letters was also a matter of great importance, but it would have meant little to us if some later admirer of his had not troubled to assemble and publish his collected letters to a far wider public than Paul had envisaged. These great accomplishments of forgotten men of the early church help us to look behind the scenes at Ephesus and Smyrna, when such men as Onesimus and Polycarp were not only preaching but publishing, and by so doing projecting the Christian truth so richly given to their generation far down the future's broadening way. There were great writers in those great days of Christian beginnings, but there were great editors and publishers too, and without them we should not have had our Pauline corpus, our fourfold gospel or our New Testament.

All this presents a picture of the early Christians quite unlike that usually offered by historians. They were to an unusual extent a book-buying and book-reading people.[20] They were also a translating and publishing people. The Greek version of the Jewish scriptures had been begun in the third century before Christ by the Jews of Alexandria. But the Latin and the Syriac versions of the Old Testament were by all accounts the work of Christian translators and publishers. And by the end of the second century Christians were writing voluminously in both Greek (Clement) and Latin (Tertullian).

Let me in conclusion survey briefly the path we have taken. We have seen how the Christian religion, beginning in the inner life and centered there, was at first slow to

[20] Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, London, 1912.

resort to literary expression. It did, however, find expression in private letters on matters of religious responsibility and experience, and some of these letters were so extraordinarily good that the next generation searched them out and published them. But it was the early Christian preaching about Jesus that formed the first Christian books—papyrus rolls, twenty-five or thirty feet in length, capacious enough to contain a gospel like Mark or Matthew. When the historical interest of Greek Christians at length awoke, it produced a two-volume work, quite in the Greek manner, with preface and dedication. Christians were beginning to lay hold of the techniques of publication to spread over the world the great message they felt they had for mankind. That was the great dynamic that drove them on, to take every known means and even find new ones for their work.

It was in this spirit that they now sought out and published Paul's letters, in a two-volume edition, with an introduction designed to awaken the churches to their lasting values. This master stroke in publication revived the letter as a vehicle for religious instruction, and led to a shower of new Christian epistles. The needs of the Greek mission were now met by the Gospel of John, which presented the religious essence of Christianity in terms immediately intelligible to the Greek mind. Its public was soon greatly increased by its republication, in combination with the older local gospels of Mark and Matthew, and with the first volume of Luke's book, now first separated from volume two of that work. To execute this bold step in publication, Christian publishers probably for the first time resorted to the leaf-book form, the codex, and found it so practical, capacious and convenient that it became their characteristic

book form for about two hundred years. In fact, it was they who made it prevalent, and our use of it owes most to them.

These men did not indeed write the New Testament, but as publishers they formed the two great collections of Christian writings that mattered most, and in so doing they laid the foundations of the New Testament, as truly as Paul, Luke, or John, if less conspicuously than they. They were not only abreast of their times in such matters, they were in advance of them, and the publishers of the subsequent centuries have followed them. This is I submit a different picture of the early Christian laity from the traditional one. But it has been well said that the early Christians did not think of themselves as early Christians; they thought of themselves as the very latest thing in the way of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIAN PUBLISHERS CARRY ON

The Christian yeast of which Jesus spoke continued to ferment in the centuries that followed. It had begun its literary manifestation with such energy that it adopted or developed new literary types—the gospels—and even elevated spoken Greek to the status of a literary language. It seized upon the little-used leaf-book and made it the regular book form of later centuries. These accomplishments did not exhaust its energy. It went on its creative way from one achievement to another. Let us review some of these literary effects of the Christian genius.

Before the middle of the second century, a Christian named Marcion, of Sinope in Pontus, made a great effort to get the churches to give up the Jewish scriptures which then formed their Bible and adopt in place of them a Christian scripture consisting of the Gospel of Luke and the ten letters of Paul—"the Gospel and the Apostle." He went to Rome and made a great effort to induce the Roman Christians to accept his views. While his effort did not succeed, it had two lasting results. It drove the churches to commit themselves definitely to the acceptance of the Jewish scriptures, and at the same time it established a Christian scripture pattern of gospel and apostle, which afterward helped to shape the New Testament. Our concern here is how Marcion, who was a business man, not a clergyman, could

have sought to put his plan into effect. It is at once clear that what he probably did was to put forth the new scriptures, Luke plus Paul, in a single codex. It is hard to see how else he could have made his effort concrete or effective. Marcion's campaign must have been in considerable part a publishing campaign, and a leaf-book containing Luke and Paul would have been smaller than a leaf-book of the four gospels. The codex as a book form was playing an important part in these movements toward a Christian scripture. The great practical convenience of a compact leaf-book of Luke and Paul as compared with an armful of scrolls of Old Testament and Apocrypha writings for use in public worship would play a part in Marcion's propaganda.

One of Justin's pupils named Tatian went back to his home in the interior of Syria and put out a gospel interwoven from the well-known four, and hence called the Diatessaron, which became the nucleus of the Syriac scriptures. In what book form he issued it we cannot tell; but about two hundred and fifty years later, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, in Mesopotamia, reports that he gathered up and we would say "suppressed" two hundred copies of the Diatessaron in his district alone. It is clear that the Diatessaron had been published, and when Theodoret goes on to say that he replaced these two hundred copies with the separate gospels, it is equally clear that these too were in published form, or Theodoret could not so readily have provided them.

By A. D. 175 what we know as the New Testament was taking definite shape in Rome, based on the two great collections, the four gospels and the Pauline letters. Paul's letters now appear for the first time in an enlarged edition, the letters to Timothy and Titus being added to them. This had the effect of redeeming Paul from the suspicion Mar-

cion's adoption of him had created, for the new letters definitely deny Marcion's views and works. While the writing of these three pastoral letters, to Timothy and Titus, was an act of composition, the issuance of them as part of the Pauline collection was an act of publication, and it is more than probable that the new letters were written especially for that purpose.

II Timothy 3:16 definitely adopts the Jewish scriptures, in opposition to one of Marcion's characteristic positions: "All scripture is divinely inspired, and useful in teaching, in reproof, in correcting faults, and in training in uprightness . . ." I Timothy closes with what is almost an express denunciation of Marcionism: "Keep away from the worldly, empty phrases and contradictions (antitheses) of what they falsely call knowledge." Marcion's one book was the Antitheses, or Contradictions, and "knowledge" (Gnosis) was the name of the dominant heresy of the middle of the second century.

The curious remark in II Tim. 4:13 "Bring . . . the books, especially the parchments," (the Greek words are *biblia, membranas*) makes one wonder whether the biblia does not mean the scrolls of Jewish scripture, and the membranai the newer leaf-books of Christian origin—the gospels and Paul. Professor Sanders' argument strongly suggests that north of the Mediterranean, leaf-books were at first more likely to be made of parchment.

In a famous passage Tertullian says of the church at Rome "The Law and the prophets she unites in one volume with the writings of evangelists and apostles, from which she drinks in her faith." [1] This has reference to the formation of the New Testament, indeed it is a manifest allusion

[1] *On Prescription against Heretics*, 36.

to the Bible, including the Old and New Testaments, and at once suggests the amazing possibility that Tertullian knew or may have known the Bible in one volume! But when we turn to the Latin text of the passage, we find, somewhat to our relief, that the words "in one volume" were inserted by Dr. Peter Holmes, the translator of the Edinburgh edition, who evidently knew little of ancient book forms; the Latin word "miscet" he rendered "unites in one volume." Such a statement would be simply impossible for anyone in Tertullian's times, and must be given up as an anachronism. On the other hand, Tertullian's use of the word "Pentateuchus," evidently in the sense of a codex containing the five books of Moses, in his work *Against Marcion*, 1:10, shows that by A. D. 198–208 codices capable of containing four-fifths of our whole New Testament were current in North Africa.

It is interesting to reconstruct the successive forms in which the Pauline corpus probably appeared. It was first published as a collection of nine letters of Paul, to seven churches, arranged in order of size, from the largest (Corinthians) to the smallest (Laodiceans), I and II Corinthians being treated as one, and I and II Thessalonians as one. The collection was preceded by what we know as Ephesians, serving as introduction, and without local address.[2]

This collection Marcion altered by simply transposing Galatians and Ephesians, naming Ephesians Laodiceans and Laodiceans Philemon. Marcion may also have shifted Philemon (Laodiceans) from last place to ninth, where Epipha-

[2] Other stages in the early history of the collection may be gathered from its reflection in such corpuses as that of Revelation, 1–4, Ignatius and John, cf. *New Solutions of New Testament Problems*, Chicago, 1927, pp. 60–62.

nius says and Dr. John Knox argues he had it, treating it as an appendix to Colossians.[3]

A third form, definitely attested for us by the Michigan-Beatty Paul codex, is evidently Alexandrian, for it includes Hebrews, with the order, Romans, Hebrews, Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians. The last extant leaf ends with the closing lines of I Thessalonians, and the leaves that must have remained (since they are the other halves of the leaves that accommodated Romans 1 : 1–5 : 17 at the beginning of the codex) [4] would have afforded ample room for II Thessalonians and Philemon. Sir Frederic Kenyon does not include Philemon in the (estimated) contents of the codex; Professor Sanders thought it probably stood between Galatians and Philippians, an area in the manuscript missing when he wrote (1935) but since supplied. It seems altogether probable that Philemon stood in the codex and in its natural place at the very end.

A fourth form, current at Rome about the same time—the beginning of the second century—is reflected in the Muratorian fragment. It gives the letters in the order: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Romans, Philemon, Titus, Timothy.

By the beginning of the fourth century, however, the letters had assumed the order now familiar, from Westcott and Hort's Greek text: Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Hebrews,

[3] This bears some resemblance to the order of Theodore of Mopsuestia—Romans, Corinthians, Hebrews, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, the Pastorals, Philemon; cf. Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, New York, 1913, p. 188.

[4] *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul*, Ann Arbor, 1935.

Timothy, Titus, Philemon. The first English versions followed Luther in putting Hebrews after III John and before James. The standard English Bibles from Coverdale's Great Bible down, have put it after Philemon.

The New Testament as a collection arose probably at Rome, in the face of the sectarian movements of the third quarter of the second century, Marcionism, Gnosticism, and Montanism. It was made up primarily of the two great collections, of gospels and of Pauline letters, linked together by the Books of Acts, and supplemented by two or three epistles and two or three apocalypses. This effort to define what Christian writings should be accepted as scripture, and hence authoritative and fit for use in public worship, must have been implemented in very definite ways through publication. It was something more than a mere list issued to churches of the non-schismatic type; it must have expressed itself in the publication of the books to be included in it in suitable concrete editions. That this was true of the Pauline letters which appear now expanded by the addition of the Pastorals we have already seen. And as a matter of fact, the assembly of the whole New Testament, even in its earliest form of twenty-two books, in a single leaf-book, was not beyond the capabilities of Christian publishers in A. D. 175. In a much debated passage, Pliny quotes Cicero as saying that "the whole Iliad written on parchment was inclosed in a nut." Professor Sanders soundly observes that Pliny probably misunderstood Cicero, who meant that the whole Iliad was written on parchment and bound in a walnut cover, that is, in a single codex. That was two hundred years before the New Testament collection was formed. The Iliad is almost as long as the New Testament. Furthermore, in the second century, Ptolemaeus (about A. D. 160) and

Tertullian (as we have seen), about A. D. 200, speak of the Pentateuch, evidently in the sense of a codex containing the first five books of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch is roughly four-fifths the length of the New Testament, so that it would not have been beyond the resources of its first Christian publishers to have put forth the New Testament in a single codex. But if they had done so, the forms in which it was known to Tertullian at Carthage, to Irenaeus at Lyons, and to the Muratorian writer at Rome (our earliest witnesses to its existence) would certainly have been identical, instead of varying in details as they do.

The new gospels that arose in the second and third centuries and in imitation of the first four, and the Acts literature that sprang up in imitation of the Acts of the Apostles to supply a form of religious fiction to the Christian public, must have required a good deal of publishing activity for their circulation, as the Acta Sanctorum did later, and the Golden Legend from the time of its composition in 1275. The Life of St. Martin, by Sulpicius Severus (A. D. 365–425), had a world-wide success and sent the Roman booksellers into ecstasies of joy.

Certainly Christian publishers must have been active in the series of missionary versions that began to appear before the end of the second century; translations into Latin, Syriac, and perhaps a century later, into the Sahidic, the first dialect of Coptic.[5] In many cases—in most, indeed—these versions were the beginnings of the national literatures. Three other Coptic versions, more or less complete, followed in later centuries, as did five Syriac versions, the

[5] In the twelfth century Peter the Venerable, wishing to show the errors of Mohammedanism, had a Latin translation of the Koran made (Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 226).

Old Syriac, the Peshitto, the Philoxenian, the Harclensian, and the Palestinian. Some of these probably had no considerable circulation, but the Peshitto, which appeared about A. D. 411, is preserved in so many manuscripts, so well written and so closely alike, that it may fairly be said to have been published.

A good deal of light is thrown upon the matter of Christian publication in the third century, not only by ancient records but also by actual remains of published books. We have seen that the Michigan-Beatty codex of Paul, of which eighty-six leaves still exist, was written about A. D. 200, or soon after. It was, when complete, a book of a hundred and four leaves, arranged in a single enormous quire, and contained the letters of Paul in what was evidently an Alexandrian edition, for it included Hebrews immediately after Romans, and omitted the Pastoral letters. A Roman edition of that time would have omitted Hebrews and contained the Pastorals. This inclusion of Hebrews among the letters of Paul, about A. D. 200 or soon after, is just what we should expect in Egypt, where Clement just before and Origen just after counted it among Paul's letters.

From the early part of the third century comes also the Chester Beatty gospels-Acts manuscript which seems, when complete, to have contained two hundred and twenty leaves, arranged in quires of two leaves each. The Chester Beatty Genesis of the latter part of the third century contained eighty-four leaves, grouped in quires of ten. Christian publishers were evidently learning to divide the codex into quires, and to bind the quires into a book.

Not only do we possess interesting examples of the work of Christian publishers in such books as these, surviving

from the third century, but we know something about their publishing activities in the case of Origen.

The most prolific of all Christian writers, ancient or modern, is Origen. Epiphanius in the fourth century declared that Origen wrote six thousand works.[6] Rufinus derided him for this, calling him a "delirus senex," but Jerome sided with Epiphanius. "Which of us," said Jerome, "can read all that he has written?" Caesar's friend and protege, Varro, was credited with six hundred and twenty books, and, as Harnack points out, this means only papyrus rolls of limited capacity. If every lecture and sermon was taken down with the staff Ambrose provided, such a total could be reached in a few busy years. No wonder the ancients dubbed Origen "Adamantius"—for his untiring industry. But Eusebius says Origen did not permit his public discourses to be taken down by stenographers until he was sixty.[7] Still, of his numerous commentaries, that on the Minor Prophets was in twenty-five books, on Matthew, twenty-five books, on John, thirty-two books, on Romans and Galatians, fifteen books each. He also covered the scriptures pretty thoroughly with his homilies or sermons: twenty-eight on Numbers, twenty-six on Joshua, thirty-two on Isaiah, forty-five on Jeremiah, twenty-five on Matthew, thirty-nine on Luke, eighteen on Hebrews, and so on. These random items, chosen from a long list, foot up three hundred and twenty-five books. It is clear that whether Ambrose in his publishing of Origen used the old-fashioned biblion or the newer codex, the unit of book length was that of the older style.

[6] *Heresies*, 64:63.
[7] *Church History*, 6:36:1.

We have a glimpse of a third-century Christian publisher in Origen's friend and patron, Ambrose, who not only published what Origen had written but urged him to new undertakings such as his commentary on the scriptures. Eusebius says that Origen "began his commentaries on the divine scriptures, being urged thereto by Ambrose, who employed innumerable incentives, not only exhorting him by word, but furnishing abundant means." [8] He goes on to tell of the seven amanuenses he provided, who relieved one another at appointed times, after taking Origen's dictation. Modern publishers hardly do as much as this for their favorite authors. We have already seen how Ambrose provided an equal number of copyists, "besides girls who were skilled in elegant writing." We can almost see the whole establishment in operation, from the teacher in his lecture room, to the finished scrolls or codices turned out in quantities by the skilled pens of Ambrose's ready writers.

Not the least important point here is that Ambrose suggested to Origen some of his most significant and extensive works, his commentaries. "To the management and support of Ambrose," said Harnack, "we owe a great part of the works of Origen . . . He occasioned and supported Origen's most important works." [9]

The truth is, the kind of book that needs to be written does not always first occur to the man capable of writing it. The Christian publisher of the third century, like his successor in the twentieth, was an extremely significant figure, although he generally remained behind the scenes. It is strange so little notice has been taken of him.

Not only do we have a number of actual manuscript

[8] *Church History*, 6:23:1.
[9] *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, I, 328, 329.

books copied in the third century, and also this vivid account of one Christian publisher of that time, but we have curiously full information about one Christian library then gathered and catalogued. And this library attracted and instructed one reader who all by himself would have made it worth all it cost in money and labor, if no one else had ever entered it, for he made it immortal.

The most famous Christian library of antiquity was the one assembled at Caesarea after the death of Origen in A. D. 253 by his admirer Pamphilus. It contained the works of Origen, mostly his own personal copies, and those of other Christian writers. Eusebius came as a young man to this library, and not only catalogued it but apparently read it, for his famous history of the church is also a history of the literature of Christianity up to his times. The library of Pamphilus contained some books that have since disappeared and are known to us chiefly from what Eusebius wrote about them in his *Church History*. Eusebius was so grateful to Pamphilus for all that Pamphilus and the library taught him that he wrote a life of Pamphilus and called himself the son of Pamphilus ever after. His life of Pamphilus has unfortunately disappeared, and we regret this not least because it included a catalogue of this library at Caesarea.[10] As early as the third quarter of the third century, then, Christians were assembling Christian libraries, and even cataloguing them.

At one point, Origen's critical energy outran even his publisher. For in his labors on the Greek text of the Old Testament he produced one work so colossal that it was never published and probably never even copied at all. It was his Hexapla. It was a huge codex, with three columns

[10] *Church History*, 6:32:3.

on each page, so that as it stood open, six columns were visible. One contained the Old Testament text in Hebrew, one a Greek transliteration of it, and the other four exhibited the four great Greek translations of the Hebrew scriptures: Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion. The book was not written in full lines, but in sense lines, phrases or clauses, so that correspondences would more easily strike the eye. The great Vatican manuscript of the Greek Bible, written a century later, was such a three-column manuscript and, judging by its contents, we may estimate the size of the Hexapla at 4,500 leaves, or 9,000 pages.[11] It found its way into the Library of Pamphilus and was consulted there in the fourth century by Jerome when he was at work upon his revision of the Latin Bible that resulted in the Vulgate version.[12] For Jerome did not simply revise the Latin Old Testament; he retranslated it. Some parts of the text of the Sinaitic manuscript seem to have been collated with texts in the library of Pamphilus, for the colophon at the end of Esther in Sinaiticus states that that book had been collated with a very early copy "corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus." The library of Pamphilus was still in existence in the sixth century and probably lasted until the capture of Caesarea by the Saracens early in the seventh.

With Constantine's mastery of the empire early in the fourth century, Christianity entered upon a new era. Now it was not only tolerated but encouraged. It was at last included among the licensed religions of the empire.

[11] Swete's estimate, given in his *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 74, is much lower, but loses sight of the fact that the Hexapla was not in full lines but in sense lines, which left some space blank at the end of most lines.

[12] Jerome refers to his use of the library in *de Viris Illustribus*, 75.

Churches could be built. The persecutions, especially those of Decius and Diocletian, had made a point of destroying Christian books of scripture, and now these losses could be repaired. For the churches of his new capital, Constantinople, Constantine commissioned Eusebius to have fifty copies of the Bible made. The emperor's words in his letter to Eusebius give us another glimpse of ancient publication. Eusebius is instructed "to order fifty copies of the sacred scriptures, . . . to be written on prepared parchment, in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art." [13] Eusebius says they were "trissa kai tetrassa," which some think means in three or four volumes each, and others with three or four columns to the page, like the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts.[14] That one order indicates how active Christian publication was now becoming.

To this period, the first half of the fourth century, belong the great manuscripts just mentioned; indeed some have thought they were among those Eusebius had copied for Constantine. This is hardly probable. But it was no doubt very much such magnificent books as these that the Father of Church History produced for his imperial friend. The page of the Sinaitic manuscript, though it shows signs of having been trimmed, measures 13½ by 15 inches; that of the first printing of the King James version is 11 by 16½, or about ninety per cent of the area of the Sinaitic. The magnificent recent accomplishment of Bruce Rogers, the great American designer, and the Oxford University Press, measures 12 by 16 inches in the regular edition, which is slightly less than the page face of the Sinaitic Bible, and 13

[13] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 4:36.
[14] *Ibid.*, 4:37.

by 18¼ inches in the large-paper limited edition of two hundred copies. The Oxford large-paper edition surpasses the Sinaitic Bible of the fourth century in page area by about one-sixth.

These great Bibles, ancient and modern, are not mere attempts at size but practical efforts to meet the demands of public reading from church lecterns, and until the Bruce Rogers Bible of 1935, the Sinaitic was unsurpassed in magnificence except in one instance, which falls in the intervening story. Such was the work of the Christian publishers in the fourth century, when Christianity had its first opportunity for free expression.

To the Gothic version made by Ulfilas after A. D. 350 we owe the most sumptuous of Bibles, the magnificent Argenteus, now at Upsala, written somewhere around A. D. 500, in silver letters on purple parchment. Such missions as that of Ulfilas to the Goths led to the missionary versions, and these to fresh publication, in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian and Ethiopic. Everywhere, we may almost say, the publishing genius followed the cross.

The most influential and widespread of the ancient versions was the Latin Vulgate. There are said to be ten thousand manuscripts of it. Undertaken at the instance of the pope, Damasus, in A. D. 382, and carried out by the leading Christian scholar of the time, Jerome, that revision of the Latin Bible must have been widely published, although centuries were to pass before it became the Authorized Version of the West and its domination complete. It was its Latin publishers who first succeeded in getting the New Testament into a single small volume, a thing Greek publishers were very slow in achieving. Indeed, it seems never to have been done in Greek.

In the Middle Ages, publication as a business practically disappeared. The copying of manuscripts was still carried on to some extent in the scriptoriums of some convents and palaces, but for the most part it was single copies that were made, and there seems to have been none of the old wholesale production; copies were not made from dictation, as they had been in the ancient book factories. A monkish scribe would sometimes record the dates on which he began and ended his copying, and a manuscript of moderate size might take him two years.[15] Of course if he had worked steadily he could have done it in a month.

At any rate, such publication as did continue in Europe in the Middle Ages was Christian publication.[16] The other publishers went down before the barbarians, with the great cities that supported them. The monasteries became the publishing houses. Cassiodorus, who had been Theodoric's prime minister, and had written a history of the Goths, when he saw the downfall of his world approaching, had retired to Scylacium, in Bruttii, almost in the toe of Italy, and there established at Vivarium a library and scriptorium of Christian and pagan works in the middle of the sixth century. There he lived to a great age in a happy retirement, but the refuge for learning that he had founded did not long survive, going down before the Lombard hordes like Monte Cassino further north. With Cassiodorus the ancient publisher may be said to disappear into that wintry sleep that lasted till that first revival of learning under

[15] Goodspeed and Sprengling, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago*, 1912, p. 21.

[16] There were considerable libraries in Jewish and Moslem hands in Baghdad and Cairo, Shiraz and Merv, in the tenth and twelfth centuries, Thompson, pp. 354, 355. But the Koran was not the beginning of a great new literature of the spirit, as was the New Testament.

Alcuin and Charlemagne, two hundred and fifty years later.

Cassiodorus is credited with establishing the first mediæval scriptorium, though the Benedictines were the ones who did most, as the years went by, for books and writing. When in the sixth century, the Irish missionary, Columba, founded Iona, he established a scriptorium. Columba was himself an indefatigable scribe and was copying the Psalter at the time of his death. At Wearmouth or Jarrow, the scenes of the labors of Benedict Biscop, his successor Ceolfrid developed the scriptorium which in his day (about 700) produced what is still the finest of all manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate, the magnificent Codex Amiatinus. At these convents in the seventh century worked the Venerable Bede, whose dying hours were spent completing his translation of the Gospel of John from Latin into the vernacular. One of the most beautiful of the Northumbrian manuscripts is the Lindisfarne Gospels, written about 700, it is said by Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne.

Columban, the Irish Missionary to Gaul early in the seventh century, founded a series of convents there, each with its scriptorium, going on to establish that of Bobbio, in Piedmont, in 612. When Alcuin came from England to Aix in 781, he not only formed for Charlemagne the largest library then on the continent, but he instituted the copying of books at the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, doing for France a cultural work that Boniface had begun a few years earlier for Germany; at Fulda, for example, a dozen monks worked steadily at copying manuscripts; at Reichenau too there was much manuscript activity. After the Conquest, Lanfranc greatly stimulated book manufacture in English monasteries, new and old. St. Alban's became the scene of great manuscript-making activity, and Reading,

Abingdon and Evesham were among the numerous copying centers. Some nuns were expert copyists, like St. Melania, at Carthage in the fifth century, St. Césarie, at Arles in the sixth, and the nuns of Eck on the Meuse, in the eighth and ninth.

There was a school for scribes connected with the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in the ninth century. In Italy the Greek monk, Nilus of Rossano, in 1002 founded the convent and libarary of Grottaferrata, which lies so beautifully in the Alban Hills. Nilus used to write every day from dawn until nine A. M. filling four sheets. If this means double sheets, he must have written sixteen pages a day. Nilus was a great figure in his day and it is thought that he even founded a distinct school of writing.[17]

Among French monastic institutions, the making of manuscripts was particularly cultivated at Cluny where there were some notable scribes in the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth the abbot had fifty-two manuscripts written by the monks. There was a school of scribes at Chartres and one at St. Benigne in the tenth century. Groups of scribes were active at St. Martial of Limoges late in the tenth and early in the eleventh centuries. St. Victor had its scriptorium, and manuscript copying was done at the Sorbonne almost from its foundation in the thirteenth century. At the Grande Chartreuse "copying was one of the most important activities in the monastery." [18] At the same time the success of Abelard's books shows that there must have been secular book publishing in Paris in his time (late eleventh and early twelfth centuries) for there were said to be copies of them everywhere.

[17] Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 332.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

The mediæval publisher, if we may so designate him, dealt in small editions, usually of a single copy, and sometimes was himself the scribe who copied out the book, like Theodore Hagiopetritis, the famous scribe who wrote nine or ten New Testament manuscripts in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, obligingly signing and dating each one. But if their output was small it was sometimes of extraordinary distinction, for they embellished individual copies with a wealth of painted illustrations that fairly bewilders us. The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, produced about 1265 in the imperial atelier at Constantinople, still contains ninety painted miniatures of scenes illustrating the text of gospels, Acts and epistles, and when new it contained twenty-five or six more. It is written in a very small but elegant hand. But its text is so heterogeneous that it seems the scribe was not careful to copy from the same exemplar throughout, but simply picked up a New Testament no one else was using at the moment and went on from the point he had previously reached. Indeed the most elegant ancient manuscripts are seldom the most accurate ones.[19]

Forms of the Bible reached their maximum in the thirteenth century in Bohemia, where the Latin Bible called Gigas, the Giant, seems to have been produced. This enormous book, now at Stockholm, measured 15¾ by 31½ inches in size; and has 106 lines to the page.

Historians complain that the monkish scriptoriums did not all cultivate the copying of the classics. But it must be remembered that the monasteries were distinctively Chris-

[19] A list of the known Greek scribes of the Middle Ages is available in Vogel-Gardthausen, *Die Griechische Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909.

tian institutions, and it was the first business of the monks, as publishers, to carry on the Christian tradition of publishing Christian literature, old and new. This was in itself an enormous task. Yet they performed a really surprising service in transmitting an extensive classical literature, a debt we owe to the monasteries that has never been fully recognized. It must be remembered that until the Greek papyri began to come to light in Egypt, a century ago, our knowledge of the classics rested entirely on monastic copies, written for the most part between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries.[20] It must also be remembered that some of that literature, like some passages in Martial, is so coarse and offensive to Christian taste that even sophisticated modern scholars in the Loeb Library leave it untranslated, and further that the pagan civilization which was the bearer of that literature had exhausted every effort to destroy the Christian literature the monks so prized. In these circumstances it is not strange that some convent scriptoriums gave little attention to preserving the Greek and Latin classics; the wonder is that in so many of them they were so assiduously cultivated. The fact stands out that the Christian civilization, even in monastic hands, was the broader civilization of the two.

If the monastic scribes are to be blamed for not having transmitted classical literature, Greek and Latin, to us in its entirety, as some feel, it may be pointed out that they were no more successful in preserving Christian literature itself. It is a matter of vast regret to learning that they made no effort at all to preserve the ancient Hebrew text of the Old Testament, leaving that to the Jews, who, however, so

[20] See Wright, *Greek Literature*, New York 1907, *passim.*

edited and altered the text in their efforts to standardize it, and so controlled its transmission, that few Hebrew manuscripts of it, older than the tenth century, survive.

Those who criticize the monks for their supposed neglect of the classics lose sight of the great losses which patristic literature sustained, in fact they dismiss all such literature as "theological" and supposedly of no value. As a matter of fact great sections of early Christian literature of the utmost interest went uncopied by the monks and so disappeared. Thompson records that a monk of the twelfth century copied "Egesippus" "for the honor and service of St. Martial." [21] If this was not Josephus,[22] but the Christian historian Hegesippus, of the second century, the work would be of the greatest possible value to modern learning, as the five books of Hegesippus, except for a few fragments, have disappeared. A long list might easily be made of Christian writers, before A. D. 340, much or all of whose works are lost: Quadratus, Ariston, Papias, Justin, Melito, Tatian, Hegesippus, Clement, Origen, Africanus, Irenaeus, Victor, Hippolytus, Novatian, Pamphilus, Eusebius—besides the numerous second century gospels. It is a fair question whether on the whole the monks did not do about as much to preserve classical literature as Christian. The fact is of course that the mediæval publishing set-up was unequal to either task, and did not wholly succeed in either. But anyone who has sat muffled in an overcoat in the winter's chill of a monastic library, even that of the Holy Sepulchre, trying to copy manuscripts, can well understand the shortcomings of the mediæval monks as publishers of either literature, classical or Christian.

[21] Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 262.
[22] Harnack, *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, I, p. 485.

The monastic scriptoriums, in France at least, for the most part died out at the end of the thirteenth century, and lay scribes revived. When at length printing appeared in Europe in the hands of Fust and Schoeffer, or as some say, of Gutenberg, the first considerable work to be printed was the Bible. Their competitors in publication were, it is said, not a little disturbed when they proved capable of producing copies of such amazing uniformity and in such astonishing numbers. So far were they from inventing publication; it was only this new method of publication that surprised them. Even if as some think the Psalter preceded the Bible, the effect for our purpose was the same. It was the publication of the Bible that had stimulated the development of the leaf-book for literary purposes in the second century, and it was the publication of the Bible that stimulated the invention of printing.

Copies of that magnificent 42-line Bible made in Mainz in 1456, now bring enormous sums; Vollbehr is said to have paid $305,000 for the copy he sold to the Library of Congress in 1928. Five years later (1933) the British Museum was purchasing the Sinaitic manuscript from the Soviets for 100,000 pounds.

The printing of the Latin Bible, the authorized Bible of the day, proceeded on a great scale in various continental cities, but in the previous century the Bible had been translated into German and English. These two fourteenth century versions were, of course, made not from the original Hebrew and Greek, but from the Latin Vulgate then prevalent. The English version connected with the names of Wyclif and Purvey, was made in 1382 to 88, but existed only in scattered manuscripts until long after; their revised New Testament of 1388 was first printed in 1731, the ear-

lier form of 1382 was first printed in 1848; and their complete Bible was first printed in 1850.

The early German version fared much better. There were eighteen printings of the Bible in German before Luther (fourteen of these in high German) between 1466 and 1521. They went back to a version made from the Latin in the fourteenth century, probably in Bohemia.

And now began the amazing triumph of the vernacular versions, the Bible in the modern tongues. France, Spain, Bohemia, Italy and Holland, says Dr. Paues,[23] possessed the Bible in the vernacular before the accession of Henry VIII (1509).

A figure had now appeared upon the publishing scene who was to affect it profoundly—Erasmus of Rotterdam. A great humanist, he sought to revive antiquity. For centuries the barbarians had been diligently destroying it, but Erasmus was able to restore it much faster than they had destroyed it, for he had the aid of the newest form of publication, the printing press.

It was in 1501 that Erasmus heard Colet lecture on Romans and resolved to devote his energies to the cause of the Christian religion. That was the very year in which the great Spanish cardinal Ximenez at Alcala projected the Complutensian Polyglot. The New Testament volume, containing the first printing of the Greek text, was printed in 1514, but some years elapsed before it was issued. Meantime the Basel printer Froben had summoned Erasmus to his aid and they produced in 1516 the first Greek Testament printed and published. It was hurriedly done, being, as Erasmus himself said of it, "praecipitatum potius quam editum," "rushed through rather than edited," but it was ac-

[23] *Encyclopedia Britannica*,[11] III, p. 898.

companied by a preface of momentous significance. For in it Erasmus warmly urged the production of translations into modern tongues:

"I vehemently dissent from those who would not have private persons read the Holy Scriptures, nor have them translated into the vulgar tongues. . . . I would wish all women, girls even, to read the gospels and the letters of Paul. I wish they were translated into all languages of all peoples . . ."

Opposite each of these last two sentences someone in the sixteenth century wrote in the margin of the University of Chicago copy, "Lutheranizat,"—"he is a heretic."

But it was not Luther who gave this idea to Erasmus; it was probably Erasmus who gave it to Luther. And it was clearly from Erasmus that Tyndale got his idea of translating the Bible into English. Certainly both translators used Erasmus' Greek text as the basis of their translations, Luther using the second edition, of 1519, and Tyndale the third, of 1522.

Luther's New Testament in German appeared in 1522; no less than eighty-five editions of it appeared between 1522 and 1533. His Bible, including the Apocrypha, was completed in 1534. It had an enormous influence upon the literary use of German. Tyndale produced his New Testament in 1525 and was half through his translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew when he was executed by the Inquisition in 1536. Meantime, Coverdale, with the aid of what Tyndale had already published—the Pentateuch and the New Testament—had published the first printed English Bible, in 1535. All these books had astonishing sales.

The German Bible has remained about where Luther left it in 1534, but Coverdale's first printed English Bible of

1535 was only a starting point. It reappeared, much improved, two years later, and again with further improvements after two years more. The 1537 Bible was licensed, to be bought and sold, but the 1539 Bible was authorized, to be read in public worship in the churches.

The story of its production is one of the romances in the history of printing, and of Christian publication in particular. The book was a magnificent folio, with pages measuring 11 by 16 inches, too large for any English printer, so it was turned over to the royal printer in Paris. But there the Inquisition interfered and broke up the work, whereupon Coverdale, who was in charge of the undertaking, reassembled printers, types and presses in London and there the book was finished. After that such books could be made in London, and did not have to be sent abroad to be printed.

With the Great Bible began the series of English Authorized Bibles—great stately folios to lie on church lecterns and be read in public worship. The second was the Bishop's Bible, of 1568, and the third the King James of 1611. Meantime, the Puritan refugees from Queen Mary's persecution had taken refuge in Geneva and there had revised the Bible, producing in 1560 the Geneva, or Breeches, Bible. It was a marked advance upon its predecessors, for it was a small, convenient Bible, for personal use; it was printed not in the old black letter, but in the new and elegant Roman type, nowadays in universal use; and its text was divided into the verse paragraphs which Robert Etienne had invented for the Greek New Testament nine years before. Its publishers not only introduced these innovations in Bible printing, but in their revision brought their knowledge of Hebrew to bear upon the second half of the Old Testament, which up to that time had rested upon Coverdale's translation of the

Latin version. They also revised and in part retranslated the Apocrypha in the light of the Greek text; until then the English Apocrypha had rested only upon Coverdale's translation of the Latin version. So they sought in form and in substance to improve the English Bible. The Geneva became the Bible of Shakespeare, of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, and of Cromwell's Ironsides, and contributed not a little improvement to the successive authorized versions.

In all this zeal for a better Bible can be seen again the workings of that spiritual ferment which had worked so powerfully in the early church and the first missionary versions. There was in Christianity a democratic spirit that demanded that what the Christian faith had to give should be offered to all men just as widely as possible, and with all the aids publication, ancient or modern, had to give.

The more ancient manuscripts of the Greek New Testament that had already begun to come to France and England reinvigorated this demand, and resulted in a long series of private translations of the New Testament in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript by Tischendorf in 1859 dramatized these discoveries and brought the movement to a focus in the Revised Version, the fourth authorized English Bible. The revision was undertaken in 1870 and the Revised New Testament appeared in May, 1881. The Oxford and Cambridge Presses are said to have had advance orders for almost two million copies, and the sales in England and America, the first year, reached three million. "No such reception," says Dr. Simms, "was ever accorded any other book in the history of the world." [24]

When the first copy of the Revised New Testament

[24] P. Marion Simms, *The Bible in America*, New York, 1936, p. 213.

reached New York its contents were hurried on to Chicago, much of them by telegraph, and the whole New Testament was printed by both the leading Chicago dailies, the *Times* and the *Tribune*, on May 22nd, as part of the morning paper. It is interesting to see the whole book of Acts filling a single page of the *Chicago Tribune*. Such was the public interest in the revision at the time, and the unfailing power of the New Testament to find its way into the newest and widest channels of publicity.[25]

Toward the close of the nineteenth century Richard Green Moulton, of Cambridge and Chicago, began to publish the books of the Bible, in small convenient volumes, containing one or two books each, intelligently paragraphed, with occasional headings. The omission of distracting chapter and verse numbers, which are wholly alien to the original forms of the books, helped to present the books in modern literary form, greatly increasing their attractiveness. The unity and individuality of each book were also brought out by this return to the manner in which most of them originally circulated. So transforming was this presentation of Professor Moulton's that most readers supposed he had retranslated the Bible, but as he expressly states, he employed the Revised Version of 1881–95. Yet few translators have done as much as Dr. Moulton for the literary understanding of the Bible. The Oxford and Cambridge University Presses had done wonders in producing compact and convenient editions of the Bible, on India paper, with gilt edges, in flexible leather bindings. Yet Dr. Moulton affirmed that the Bible was the worst printed book in the

[25] The American form of the revision, the "American Standard Version" of 1901, is now undergoing a new revision by a committee of scholars, organized by the International Council of Religious Education.

world, because of the mechanical verse paragraphing, and the sometimes unintelligent chapter division, not to mention the flood of cross references that made an ordinary Bible look more like a surveyor's manual than a work of literature. These swarming references sometimes formed a column down the middle of the page, sometimes two columns on the outer margins, and sometimes both. One of the worst features of such Bibles was the marginal chronology, devised by Archbishop Usher, which formed no part of the King James Version, but was fastened on it early in the eighteenth century.

The finding of Greek papyri in ever increasing numbers in Egypt in the past forty years and the consequent discovery that the New Testament was written in familiar colloquial Greek, resulted in a series of modern speech translations, from all communions and denominations, on both sides of the Atlantic. The makers of these translations are inspired by a desire to keep the New Testament and its message unescapably before the modern world, in all the vigor and directness of the original, and to let the evangelists and apostles speak plainly to our day. These translations have called fresh attention to the value of the continuous reading of the books of the New Testament as coherent wholes, over against the piecemeal verse-and-chapter treatment which was almost necessitated by the style and arrangement of the standard versions, and they have revivified the New Testament, especially the letters of Paul, for a great many readers.

Recent years have also witnessed a series of new translations of the Old Testament, by Jewish and Christian groups, and one translation of the Apocrypha, the first, it appears, ever made throughout directly from the Greek. Catholic

scholars in London have completed a new translation of the Greek New Testament (instead of their traditional Latin) and are proceeding to translate the Old Testament from the Hebrew (the Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures). Individual Catholic scholars have produced complete translations of the New Testament [26] or of individual books [27] from the Greek.

A notable chapter in the history of Christian publication is the rise of the Bible societies in the nineteenth century. The British and Foreign was organized in 1804, and scores of such societies sprang up all over Europe in the years that immediately followed. The American Bible Society was formed in 1816 by representatives of seven local Bible societies. Both British and American societies have been very active, not only in printing and circulating the English Bible as a whole or in parts, but in effecting its translation into other languages for missionary purposes. It is said the American Bible Society does not ordinarily put its plates on the press for a run of less than 50,000 to 100,000 copies.

When Cleopatra's Needle was erected on the Thames Embankment in 1878, the Bible Society contributed translations of the Bible or parts of it in 215 languages, to the foundation deposit. But in 1939 the American Bible Society reports translations in a thousand languages and dialects. The urge to publish, which Christians began to feel before the end of the first century, is still active among us. And it is no modern innovation; it is an inheritance from the early church.

We are told that King George V, wishing to provide a lectern Bible for a church in which he was interested, in-

[26] F. A. Spencer, New York, 1937.
[27] James A. Kleist, *The Memoirs of St. Peter*, Milwaukee, 1932.

structed his librarian to procure one, but the librarian reported that there was not one printed which he considered suitable. This stirred the University printers of the Bible and they commissioned Mr. Bruce Rogers, the distinguished American book designer, to plan a proper edition of the King James Version for church use. Mr. Rogers employed his new type, Centaur, and after studying the King James Version decided that a page of proper dignity and beauty could not be obtained if the verse-paragraphs of that version were retained. He accordingly abandoned them, and made a new paragraphing. He also printed the poetical books as poetry, as is done in the Revised Version.

The new Bible, published in 1935, is a fifty-line, two-column Bible, of stately proportions, measuring 12 by 16 inches in the ordinary edition, but 13 by 18¼ in the limited, large-paper edition. It is unquestionably a landmark in the great story of Bible printing, and a great achievement for Mr. Rogers, whose remarkable work as a book designer led Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of Congress at that time, to have one of the panels of the bronze doors of the Rare Book Section of the Library devoted to Mr. Rogers and his work.[28]

[28] The beautiful printings of the King James Version recently produced by the Cambridge University Press present the work in its full extent—Preface, Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament—in compact and convenient form for private use. The Press is mistaken, however, in describing the Apocrypha on the title page and again on the title page preceding that section of the Bible, as "Translated out of the original tongues"; the 1611 edition makes no such claim for the Apocrypha in either place, and all scholars know that the Apocrypha, so far from being translated out of the original tongues, were simply translated by Coverdale the easiest way, from the Latin Vulgate, being later only revised in the light of the Greek text. Indeed, some of them were probably written in Hebrew, and have not been seen in their "original tongues" since the days of the Roman Empire.

Over against this magnificent Bible, the largest single volume certainly since Sir John Baskerville's Bible of 1763,[29] and probably in the whole history of the English Bible, we may set the tiny reproduction of the King James Gospels, in a book measuring 1 inch by 1⅜ inches. Too small to be read except with a reading glass, and of course to serve any practical religious purpose, this miniature volume of the gospels will at least illustrate for us the newest form of publication—photography, now so widely used in weekly and monthly magazines, especially for their illustrated pages.

When the Japanese bombed Chapei a few years ago, and the plant and library of the Commercial Press, the plates of my American translation of the New Testament were destroyed. A Tokyo publisher has now issued the book photographically with the type face reduced ⅝ of an inch in height. So the Bible continues to avail itself of new techniques of publication, as it has done ever since the first century.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the various children's Bibles or of the long series of short Bibles which have appeared at intervals over many years from Cromwell's Soldier's Bible down. These are efforts to present the most vitally important parts of the Bible in larger type and more attractive form than is possible in the crowded volumes that undertake to accommodate the whole enormous collection of eighty or, without the Apocrypha, sixty-six books that constitute the Bible. Small type and double columns are unavoidable, if even the Old and New Testaments are to be gotten into reasonable octavo limits.

One of the best printed of the short Bibles is "The Bible

[29] In 1800 Thomas Macklin published the Old and New Testaments in six huge volumes, in London, the page measuring 14¾ by 18¼ inches.

Designed to be Read as Living Literature," by E. S. Bates (New York, 1936). This stately volume is without chapter or verse numbers, and uses quotation marks and a paragraphing that generally approaches the modern method. The large omissions from the text are not specifically indicated, and while the King James Version is followed for the most part, a few books are printed in the text of the Revised Version. In this book, as in those of Dr. Moulton, the great gains to be made through the adoption of a modern paragraphing and punctuation are manifest. It seems rather difficult to read "King Darius his pillow" or "King Artaxerxes his letters" or "Refresh my bowels in the Lord" as living literature, but the wide welcome given this book shows the value of large type, generous margins, and an approach to modern paragraphing.

I have followed chiefly the story of the publication of the Bible in ancient and modern times, as the recording gauge of Christian interest in publication. But of course Christian publication is a much wider affair. There are not only the Tract Societies, the denominational publication houses and societies like the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the practical side, but on the learned side, great collections like the huge Acta Sanctorum, the Latin Patrology in 221 volumes, the Greek Patrology in 165 volumes, the oriental Patrologies, the Vienna edition of the Latin fathers, the Berlin edition of the Greek fathers, the Scottish edition in English of the Ante Nicene Fathers, and of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers. There are the great series of commentaries, English, Latin and German. There is also the stream of definitely Christian literature, theological, homiletical, educational, and literary. And there is the strong influence that Christianity has for many centuries

exerted upon literature in general, and upon English literature from its very beginnings, to explore which would carry us too far.

The most popular of the early rivals of Christianity were the oriental mystery cults of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Attis, and so on, and much has been made of the resemblances between them and the new faith. Certainly it employed not a little of their vocabulary. But on one point it differed sharply from them all; it published. They were built on secrecy; they were secret societies, while Christianity, though it was not a licensed religion and needed to exercise a good deal of caution, entered very early upon a career of publication. Even though some care may have been taken in the circulation of its books, they were unmistakably published and widely distributed over the Greek world. That Christians did not hesitate to speak out even to the authorities is shown by the series of Christian defenses of Christianity, the apologies, which men like Aristides, Justin, Melito, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Tertullian issued, often addressing them directly to the emperor himself, and boldly referring him to the Christian scriptures.[30]

In the religious world of the mysteries on the other hand, such a proceeding would have been regarded with horror. One of the most notorious of the ancients was that Diagoras of Athens who revealed the mysteries of Orpheus, Eleusis and the Cabiri, and even chopped up his wooden idol of Hercules to cook his turnips, as Tatian and Athenagoras record.[31] Herodotus alludes vaguely to certain mysteries of Ceres and of Osiris with which he was well acquainted, but which he must not utter. "On this lake" (at Sais), he re-

[30] Aristides, *Apology*, 16:3.
[31] Tatian, *Address*, 27:1; Athenagoras, *Plea for the Christians*, 4:1, 2.

marks, "it is that the Egyptians represent by night his sufferings whose name I refrain from mentioning, and this representation they call their mysteries. I know well the whole course of the proceedings in these ceremonies, but they shall not pass my lips. So too with regard to the mysteries of Ceres, which the Greeks term the Thesmophoria, I know them, but I shall not mention them, except so far as may be done without impiety." [32] In view of the well-known disposition of Herodotus to tell all he knew, this reticence is significant.

With this secretive attitude of the mystery initiates we may contrast the frank account of Christian rites and worship given by Justin in chapters 65, 66 and 67 of his "Apology," addressed to the Emperor Antoninus about the middle of the second century. The Christians from the moment they awoke to the possibilities of publication in spreading their gospel over the world availed themselves of them to the full, not only publishing new books but searching out old ones for publication, and this genius for publication has never forsaken them. It is a mistake to suppose that it began with the discovery of printing; it was a characteristic of Christian attitudes from A. D. 70 on, gathering strength as the great fruitfulness of the method emerged. Even the barbarian invasions and the Dark Ages could not quench it. And it is all an evidence of the tremendous dynamic which informed the whole of early Christian life, which sought not only by deed and word but by all the most advanced techniques of publication to carry the gospel, in its fulness and without reserve, to all mankind.

[32] *History* 2:171.

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